

Chandah Cymiano;
or
GUSTANUS NASSA,
The Gridan



Chandah Cymiano;
or
GUSTANUS NASSA,
The Gridan

INTERESTING NARRATIVE

THE LIFE

OLAUDAH EQUIANO,

GUSTAVUS VASSA,

THE AFRICAN.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Bebold, God is my falvation; I will trust and not be afrad, for the Lord Jehowah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.

And in that day shall ye fay, Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people. Isaiah xii. 2, 4.

FOURTH EDITION, ENLARGED.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR, AND SOLD BY, THE AUTHOR.

Sold also at the Dublin Chronicle Office, by W. SLEATER, No. 28, Dame-Rreet, and the other Booksellers in Dublin. 1791.

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INTERESTING MARRATIVE

THE LIFE

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SERVICE OF STREET PROPERTY.

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

ROBERT,

Lord Archbishop of Dublin, &c.

This Edition of my Narrative is humbly Inscribed

(as a small Token of my Gratitude for his

unequalled Beneficence)

BY HIS GRACE'S

MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

GUSTAVUS VASSA.

Dublin, with May, 1791.

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Lord Aid Milhop of Dublin, &c.

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Duelle of May 175

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, and to mobo. it

My Lords and Gentlemen,

PERMIT me, with the greatest deference and respect, to lay at your feet the following genuine narrative; the chief delign of which is to excite in your august affemblies a fense of compassion for the miseries which the Slave-Trade has entailed on my unfortunate countrymen. By the horrors of that trade was I first torn away from all the tender connexions that were naturally dear to my heart; but thefe, through the mylterious ways of Prodence, I ought to regard as infinitely more than compensated by the introduction

A 3

duction I have thence obtained to the knowledge of the Christian religion, and of a nation which, by its liberal sentiments, its humanity, the glorious freedom of its government, and its proficiency in arts and sciences, has exalted the dignity of human nature.

I am sensible I ought to entreat your pardon for addressing to you a work so wholly devoid of literary merit; but, as the production of an unlettered African, who is actuated by the hope of becoming an instrument towards the relief of his suffering countrymen, I trust that such a man, pleading in such a cause, will be acquitted of boldness and presumption.

May the God of Heaven infpire your hearts with peculiar benevolence on that important day when the queftion of Abolition is to be discussed, when when thousands, in consequence of your Determination, are to look for Happiness or Misery!

Lonici gaied as I am, oth was a t.

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient,

And devoted humble fervant,

OLAUDAH EQUIANO,

Banker teem dilor, on 1

GUSTAVUS VASSA.

No. 4, Taylor's Buildings, St. Martin's-Lane, October 30, 1790.

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To the CHAIRMAN of the COMMITTEES for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Magdalen College, Cambridge, May 26, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I TAKE the liberty, as being joined with you in the fame laudable endeavours to support the cause of humanity in the abolition of the Slave Trade, to recommend to your protection the bearer of this note, GUSTAVUS VASSA, an African; and to bee the favour of your affistance to him in the sale of his book.

I am, with great respect,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient fervant,

P. PECKARD.

Signer son 1500

Manchester, July 23, 1790.

THOMAS WALKER has great pleafure in recommending the fale of the NAR-RATIVE of GUSTAVUS VASSA to the friends of justice and humanity, he being well entitled to their protection and support from the united testimonies of the Rev. T. CLARKSON, of London; the Rev. Dr. PECK-ARD, of Cambridge; and SAMPSON and CHARLES LLOYD, Esqrs. of Birmingham.

Shoffield, August 20, 1990.

IN consequence of the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. PECKARD, of Cambridge; Mess. Lloyd, of Birmingham; the Rev. T. CLARKSON, of London; THOMAS WALKER, THOMAS COOPER, Esqrs. and Isaac Moss, of Manchester; we beg leave also to recommend the sale of the NARRATIVE of GUSTAVUS VASSA to the friends of humanity in the town and neighbourhood of Sheffield.

Dr. Browne, Rev. Jas. Wilkinson, Wm. Shore, Efq. Rev. Edw. Goodwin, Sam. Marshall, John Barlow.

The GENERAL MAGAZINE and IM-PARTIAL REVIEW for July 1789, characterizes this Work in the following Terms:

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"This is 'a round, unvarnished tale' of the chequered adventures of an African who, early in life, was torn from his native country, by those savage dealers in a traffic disgraceful to humanity, and which has fixed a stain on the legislature of Britain.

A 5

The Narrative appears to be written with " much truth and fimplicity. The Author's " account of the manners of the natives of " his own province (Eboe) is interesting and " pleafing; and the Reader, unless perchance " he is either a West-India planter or Liver-" pool me chant, will find his humanity " often feverely wounded by the shameless " barbarity practifed towards the Author's " hapless countrymen in our colonies; if " he feel, as he ought, the oppressed and " oppressors will equally excite his pity and " indignation. That fo unjust, so iniquitous " a commerce may be abolished, is our " ardent wish; and we heartily join in our " Author's prayer, " That the God of " heaven may inspire the hearts of our Re-" presentatives in Parliament with peculiar " benevolence on that important day when " fo interesting a question is to be discussed; when thousands, in consequence of their " determination, are to look for happiness " or mifery!" avon bonot a second the charge end adventu meante un jo

THE kind reception which this Work has met with from many hundred persons, of all denominations, demands the Author's most fincere thanks to his numerous friends; and he most respectfully solicits the favour and encouragement of the candid and unprejudiced friends of the Africans.

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GUSTAVUS VASSA.

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The author's account of his country, and their manners and customs—Administration of justice—Embrenché—Marriage ceremony, and publicentertainments—Mode of living—Dress—Manufactures—Buildings—Commerce—Agriculture—War and religion—Superstition of the natives—Funeral ceremonies of the priests or magicians—Curious mode of discovering poison—Some hints concerning the origin of the author's countrymen, with the opinion of different writers on that subject.

I BELIEVE it is difficult for those who publish their own memoirs to escape the imputation of vanity; nor is this the only disadvantage under which they labour: it is also their misfortune, that whatever is uncommon is rarely, if ever, believed, and what is obvious

we are apt to turn from with difgust, and to charge the writer with impertinence. People generally think those memoirs only worthy to be read or remembered which abound in great or firiking events; those, in short, which in a high degree excite either admiration or pity: all others they confign to contempt and oblivion. It is therefore, I confefs, not a little hazardous in a private and obscure individual, and a stranger too, thus to folicit the indulgent attention of the public; especially when I own I offer here the history of neither a faint, a hero, nor a tyrant. I believe there are a few events in my life which have not happened to many: it is true the incidents of it are numerous; and, did I confider myfelf an European, I might fay my fufferings were great: but when I compare my lot with that of most of my countrymen, I regard myfelf as a particular favourite of Heaven, and acknowledge the mercies of Providence in every occurrence of my If then the following narrative does not appear fufficiently interesting to engage general attention, let my motive be some excuse for its publication. I am not so foolishly vain as to expect from it either immortality or literary reputation. If it affords any fatiffaction to my numerous friends, at whose request quest it has been written, or in the smallest degree promotes the interests of humanity, the ends for which it was undertaken will be fully attained, and every wish of my heart gratisted. Let it therefore be remembered that, in wishing to avoid censure, I do not

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That part of Africa, known by the name of Guinea, to which the trade for flaves is carried on, extends along the coast above 3400 miles, from Senegal to Angola, and includes a variety of kingdoms. Of these the most confiderable is the kingdom of Benin, both as to extent and wealth, the richness and cultivation of the foil, the power of its king, and the number and warlike disposition of the inhabitants. It is fitnated nearly under the line, and extends along the coast about 170 miles, but runs back into the interior part of Africa to a diftance hitherto I believe unexplored by any traveller; and feems only terminated at length by the empire of Abyffinia, near 1500 miles from its beginning. kingdom is divided into many provinces or districts: in one of the most remote and fertile of which I was born, in the year 1745, fituated in a charming fruitful vale, named Effaka. The distance of this province from the capital of Benin and the fea coast must be B 2

very confiderable: for I had never heard of white men or Europeans, nor of the fea; and our subjection to the king of Benin was little more than nominal; for every transaction of the government, as far as my flender observation extended, was conducted by the chiefs. or elders of the place. The manners and government of a people who have little commerce with other countries are generally very simple; and the history of what passes in one family or village, may ferve as a specimen of the whole nation. My father was one of those elders or chiefs I have spoken of, and was styled Embrenché; a term, as I remember, importing the highest distinction, and fignifying in our language a mark of grandeur. This mark is conferred on the person entitled to it by cutting the skin across at the top of the forehead, and drawing it down to the eye-brows; and while it is in this fituation applying a warm hand, and rubbing it until it shrinks up into a thick weal across the lower part of the forehead. Most of the judges and fenators were thus marked; my father had long borne it: I had feen it conferred on one of my brothers, and I also was destined to receive it by my parents. Embrenché, or chief men, decided disputes and punished crimes; for which purpose they always

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always affembled together. The proceedings were generally short; and in most cases the law of retaliation prevailed. I remember a man was brought before my father, and the other judges, for kidnapping a boy; and, although he was the fon of a chief, or fenator, he was condemned to make recompense by Adultery, howa man or woman flave. ever, was fometimes punished with flavery or death; a punishment which I believe is inflicted on it throughout most of the nations of Africa*: fo facred among them is the honour of the marriage bed, and so jealous are they of the fidelity of their wives. this I recollect an instance—a woman was convicted before the judges of adultery, and delivered over, as the custom was, to her husband to be punished. Accordingly he determined to put her to death: but it being found, just before her execution, that she had an infant at her breaft; and no woman being prevailed on to perform the part of a nurse, fhe was spared on account of the child. The men, however do not preserve the same constancy to their wives, which they expect from them; for they indulge in a plurality, though feldom in more than two.

B 3 ... Their

[·] See Benezet's " Account of Guinea" throughout.

Their mode of marriage is thus: -both parties are usually betrothed when young by their parents, (though I have known the males to betroth themselves). On this occasion a feast is prepared, and the bride and bridegroom stand up in the midst of all their friends, who are affembled for the purpose, while he declares she is thenceforth to be looked upon as his wife, and that no person is to pay any addresses to her. This is also immediately proclaimed in the vicinity, on which the bride retires from the affembly. Some time after she is brought home to her husband, and then another feast is made, to which the relations of both parties are invited: her parents then deliver her to the bridegroom, accompanied with a number of bleflings, and at the same time they tie round her waist a cotton string of the thickness of a goofe-quill, which none but married women are permitted to wear: the is now confidered as completely his wife; and at this time the dowry is given to the new married pair, which generally confifts of portions of land, flaves, and cattle, houshold goods, and implements of hus-These are offered by the friends of both parties; besides which the parents of the bridegroom present gifts to those of the bride, whose property she is looked upon before marriage; par-

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marriage; but after it she is esteemed the sole property of the husband. The ceremony being now ended the festival begins, which is celebrated with bonsires, and loud acclamations of joy, accompanied with music and dancing.

We are almost a nation of dancers, musicians, and poets. Thus every great event, fuch as a triumphant return from battle, or other cause of public rejoicing, is celebrated in public dances which are accompanied with fongs and music suited to the occasion. affembly is feparated into four divisions, which dance either apart or in fuccession, and each with a character peculiar to itself. The first division contains the married men, who in their dances frequently exhibit feats of arms, and the representation of a battle. To these fucceed the married women, who dance in the fecond division. The young men occupy the third; and the maidens the fourth. Each represents some interesting scene of real life, fuch as a great atchievement, domestic employment, a pathetic story, or some rural sport; and as the subject is generally founded on some recent event, it is therefore ever new. This gives our dances a spirit and variety which I have fcarcely feen elfewhere*.

B 4

We

When I was in Smyrna I have frequently fren the Greeks dance after this manner.

We have many musical instruments, particularly drums of different kinds, a piece of music which resembles a guitar, and another much like a stickado. These last are chiesly used by betrothed virgins, who play on them

on all grand festivals.

As our manners are fimple, our luxuries are few. The dress of both sexes is nearly the fame. It generally confifts of a long piece of calico, or muslin, wrapped loosely round the body, fomewhat in the form of a highland plaid. This is usually dyed blue, which is our favourite colour. It is extracted from a berry, and is brighter and richer than any I have feen in Europe. Besides this, our women of distinction wear golden ornaments, which they dispose with some profusion on their arms and legs. When our women are not employed with the men in tillage, their usual occupation is spinning and weaving cotton, which they afterwards dye, and make into garments. They also manufacture earthen vessels, of which we have many kinds. Among the rest tobacco pipes, made after the fame fashion, and used in the same manner, as those in Turkey *.

Our

[•] The bowl is earthen, curiously figured, to which a long reed is fixed as a tube. This tube is sometimes so long as

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Our manner of living is entirely plain; for as yet the natives are unacquainted with those refinements in cookery which debauch the taste: bullocks, goats, and poultry, supply, the greatest part of their food. These constitute likewise the principal wealth of the country, and the chief articles of its commerce. The flesh is usually stewed in a pan; to make it favoury we fometimes use also pepper, and other spices, and we have falt made of wood ashes. Our vegetables are mostly plantains, eadas, yams, beans, and Indian corn. The head of the family usually eats alone; his wives and flaves have also their separate tables. Before we talte food we always wash our hands: indeed our cleanliness on all occasions is extreme; but on this it is an indispensable ceremony. After washing, libation is made, by pouring out a small portion of the drink on the floor, and toffing a finall quantity of the food in a certain place, for the spirits of departed relations, which the natives suppose to preside over their conduct, and guard them from evil. They are totally unacquainted with strong or spirituous liquors; and their principal beverage is palm wine.

to be borne by one, and frequently, out of grandeur, by two boys.

B

This

This is got from a tree of that name, by tapping it at the top, and fastening a large gourd to it; and fometimes one tree will yield three or four gallons in a night. When just drawn it is of a most delicious sweetness; but in a few days it acquires a tartish and more spirituous flavour; though I never faw any one intoxicated by it. The same tree also produces nuts and oil. Our principal luxury is in perfumes; one fort of these is an odoriferous wood of delicious fragrance: the other a kind of earth; a small portion of which thrown into the fire diffuses a most powerful odour". We beat this wood into powder, and mix it with palm oil; with which both men and women perfume themselves.

In our buildings we study convenience rather than ornament. Each master of a family has a large square piece of ground, surrounded with a moat or sence, or enclosed with a walt made of red earth tempered: which, when dry, is as hard as brick. Within this are his houses to accommodate his family and slaves; which, if numerous, frequently present the appearance of a village. In the middle stands

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^{*} When I was in Smyrna I faw the same kind of earth, and brought some of it with me to England; it resembles musk in strength, but is more delicious in scent, and is not unlike the smell of a role.

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the principal building, appropriated to the fole use of the master, and consisting of two apartments; in one of which he fits in the day with his family, the other is left apart for the reception of his friends. He has befides these a distinct apartment in which he fleeps, together with his male children. On each fide are the apartments of his wives, who have also their separate day and night houses. The habitations of the flaves and their families are diffributed throughout the rest of the enclosure. These houses never exceed one ftory in height: they are always built of wood, or stakes driven into the ground, crossed with wattles, and neatly plastered within and without. The roof is thatched with reeds. Our day houses are left open at the fides; but those in which we fleep are always covered, and plaftered in the infide with a composition mixed with cow dung, to keep off the different infects, which annoy us during the night. The walls and floors also of these are generally covered with mats. Our beds confift of a platform raifed three or four feet from the ground, on which are laid fkins, and different parts of a fpungy tree called plantain. Our covering is calico or mustin, the same as our dress. The usual feats are a few logs of wood; but we have benches, which are generally nerally perfumed, to accommodate strangers: these compose the greater part of our household surniture. Houses so constructed and surnished require but little skill to erect them. Every man is a sufficient architect for the purpose. The whole neighbourhood afford their unanimous assistance in building them, and in return receive, and expect no other

recompense than a feast.

As we live in a country where nature is prodigal of her favours, our wants are few and eafily supplied; of course we have few manufactures. They confift for the most part of calicoes, earthen ware, ornaments, and inftruments of war and husbandry. But these make no part of our commerce, the principal articles of which, as I have observed, are provisions. In such a state money is of little use; however we have some small pieces of coin; if I may call them fuch. They are made fomething like an anchor; but I do not remember either their value or denomination. We have also markets, at which I have been frequently with my mother. These are fometimes vifited by frout mahogany-coloured men from the fouth west of us: we call them Oye-Eboe, which term fignifies red men living at a distance. They generally bring us firearms, gunpowder, hats, beads, and dried fish. The

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The last we esteemed a great rarity, as our waters were only brooks and springs. These articles they barter with us for odoriferous woods and earth, and our falt of wood ashes. They always carry flaves through our land; but the strictest account is exacted of their manner of procuring them before they are fuffered to pass. Sometimes indeed we fold flaves to them, but they were only prisoners of war, or fuch among us as had been convicted of kidnapping, or adultery, and fome other crimes, which we esteemed heinous. This practice of kidnapping induces me to think, that, notwithstanding all our strictness, their principal bufiness among us was to trepan our people. I remember too they carried great facks along with them, which not long after I had an opportunity of fatally feeing applied to that infamous purpofe.

Our land is uncommonly rich and fruitful, and produces all kinds of vegetables in great abundance. We have plenty of Indian corn, and vast quantities of cotton and tobacco. Our pine apples grow without culture; they are about the fize of the largest sugar-loaf, and finely slavoured. We have also spices of different kinds, particularly pepper; and a variety of delicious fruits which I have never seen in Europe; together with gums of various

kinds,

kinds, and honey in abundance. All our industry is exerted to improve those bleffings of nature. Agriculture is our chief employment; and every one, even the children and women, are engaged in it. Thus we are all habituated to labour from our earliest years. Every one contributes something to the common flock; and as we are unacquainted with idleness we have no beggars. The benefits of fuch a mode of living are obvious. The West India planters prefer the slaves of Benin or Eboe, to those of any other part of Guinea, for their hardiness, intelligence, integrity, and zeal. Those benefits are felt by us in the general healthiness of the people, and in their vigour and activity; I might have added too in their comeliness. Deformity is indeed unknown amongst us, I mean that of shape. Numbers of the natives of Eboe, now in London, might be brought in support of this affertion: for, in regard to complexion, ideas of beauty are wholly relative. I remember while in Africa to have feen three negro children, who were tawny, and another quite white, who were univerfally regarded by myfelf, and the natives in general, as far as related to their complexions, as deformed. Our women too were in my eyes at least uncommonly graceful, alert, and modest to a degree

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degree of bashfulness; nor do I remember to have ever heard of an instance of incontinence amongst them before marriage. They are also remarkably cheerful. Indeed cheerfulness and affability are two of the leading characteristics of our nation.

Our tillage is exercised in a large plain or common, fome hours walk from our dwellings, and all the neighbours refort thither in a body. They use no beasts of husbandry; and their only instruments are hoes, axes, shovels, and beaks, or pointed iron to dig with. Sometimes we are visited by locusts, which come in large clouds, fo as to darken the air, and destroy our harvest. This however happens rarely, but when it does, a famine is produced by it. I remember an instance or two wherein this happened. This common is often the theatre of war; and therefore when our people go out to till their land, they not only go in a body, but generally take their arms with them for fear of a surprise; and when they apprehend an invalion, they guard the avenues to their dwellings, by driving sticks into the ground, which are so sharp at one end as to pierce the foot, and are generally dipt in poifon. From what I can recollect of these battles, they appear to have been irruptions of one little state or district on the other, to obtain

tain prisoners or booty. Perhaps they were incited to this by those traders who brought the European goods I mentioned amongst us. Such a mode of obtaining flaves in Africa is common; and I believe more are procured this way, and by kidnapping, than any other*. When a trader wants flaves, he applies to a chief for them, and tempts him with his wares. It is not extraordinary, if on this occasion he yields to the temptation with as little firmness, and accepts the price of his fellow creature's liberty with as little reluctance as the enlightened merchant. Accordingly he falls on his neighbours and a desperate battle ensues. he prevails and takes prisoners, he gratifies his avarice by felling them; but, if his party be vanquished, and he falls into the hands of the enemy, he is put to death: for, as he has been known to foment their quarrels, it is thought dangerous to let him furvive, and no ranfom can fave him, though all other prifoners may be redeemed. We have fire-arms. bows and arrows, broad two-edged fwords and javelins: we have shields also which cover a man from head to foot. All are taught the use of these weapons; even our women are warriors, and march boldly out to fight along

with

^{*} See Benezet's Account of Africa throughout.

with the men. Our whole district is a kind of Were militia: on a certain fignal given, fuch as the ught firing of a gun at night, they all rife in arms ft us. and rush upon their enemy. It is perhaps ica is fomething remarkable, that when our people ured march to the field a red flag or banner is er*. borne before them. I was once a witness to to a a battle in our common. We had been all at ates. work in it one day as usual, when our people n he were fuddenly attacked. I climbed a tree at refs. fome distance, from which I beheld the fight. re's There were many women as well as men on ghtboth fides; among others my mother was there, his and armed with a broad fword. After fight-If ing for a confiderable time with great fury, fies and many had been killed, our people obrty tained the victory, and took their enemy's 10 Chief prisoner. He was carried off in great nas triumph, and, though he offered a large ran-18 fom for his life, he was put to death. A virno gin of note among our enemies had been flain nin the battle, and her arm was exposed in our ıs, market-place, where our trophies were always 10 exhibited. The spoils were divided according a to the merits of the warriors. Those prisoners ie which were not fold or redeemed we kept as e flaves: but how different was their condition g from that of the flaves in the West Indies! With us they do no more work than other

members

members of the community, even their master; their food, clothing, and lodging, were nearly the same as theirs (except that they were not permitted to eat with those who were free-born); and there was scarce any other disference between them than a superior degree of importance which the head of a family possessin our state, and that authority which, as such, he exercises over every part of his household. Some of these slaves have even slaves under them as their own property, and for their own use.

As to religion, the natives believe that there is one Creator of all things, and that he lives. in the fun, and is girted round with a belt that he may never eat or drink; but, according to some, he smokes a pipe, which is our own favourite luxury. They believe he governs events, especially our deaths or captivity; but, as for the doctrine of eternity, I do not remember to have ever heard of it: fome however believe in the transmigration of fouls in a certain degree. Those spirits, which are not transmigrated, such as their dear friends or relations, they believe always: attend them, and guard them from the bad spirits or their foes. For this reason they always before eating, as I have observed, put fome fmall portion of the meat, and pour fome

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some of their drink, on the ground for them; and they often make oblations of the blood of bealts or fowls at their graves. I was very fond of my mother, and almost constantly with her. When she went to make these oblations at her mother's tomb, which was a kind of small folitary thatched house, I sometimes attended her. There she made her libations, and spent most of the night in cries and lamentations. I have been often extremely terrified on these occasions. The loneliness of the place, the darkness of the night, and the ceremony of libation, naturally awful and gloomy, were heightened by my mother's lamentations; and these concurring with the doleful cries of birds, by which thefe places were frequented, gave an inexpressible terror to the scene.

We compute the year from the day on which the fun crosses the line, and on its setting that evening, there is a general shout throughout the land; at least I can speak from my own knowledge, throughout our vicinity. The people at the same time make a great noise with rattles, not unlike the basket rattles used by children here, though much larger, and hold up their hands to heaven for a blessing. It is then the greatest offerings are made, and those children whom our wise

men foretel will be fortunate are then presented to different people. I remember many used to come to see me, and I was carried about to others for that purpole. They have many offerings, particularly at full moons; generally two at harvest before the fruits are taken out of the ground: and when any young animals are killed, fometimes they offer up part of them as a facrifice. These offerings when made by one of the heads of a family, ferve for the whole. I remember we often had them at my father's and my uncle's, and their families have been present. Some of our offerings are eaten with bitter herbs. We had a faying among us to any one of a cross temper, 'That if they were to be eaten, they should be eaten with bitfer herbs.'

We practifed circumcifion like the Jews, and made offerings and feasts on that occasion in the same manner as they did. Like them also, our children were named from some event, some circumstance, or fancied foreboding at the time of their birth. I was named Olaudah, which, in our language, signifies vicissitude, or fortunate also; one favoured, and having a loud voice and well spoken. I remember we never polluted the name of the object of our adoration; on the contrary, it was always mentioned

mentioned with the greatest reverence; and we were totally unacquainted with swearing, and all those terms of abuse and reproach which find their way so readily and copiously into the language of more civilized people. The only expressions of that kind I remember were, 'May you rot, or may you swell,

or may a beaft take you.'

I have before remarked that the natives of this part of Africa are extremely cleanly. This necessary habit of decency was with us a part of religion, and therefore we had many purifications and washings; indeed almost as many, and used on the same occasions, if my recollection does not fail me, as the Jews. Those that touched the dead at any time were obliged to wash and purify themselvesbefore they could enter a dwelling-house. woman too, at certain times, was forbidden to come into a dwelling-house, or touch any person or any thing we eat. I was so fond of my mother I could not keep from her, or avoid touching her at some of those periods. in consequence of which I was obliged to be kept out with her, in a little house made for that purpose, till offering was made, and then we were purified.

Though we had no places of public worship, we had priests and magicians, or wife men. I do not remember whether they had different offices, or whether they were united in the fame persons, but they were held in great reverence by the people. They calculated our time, and foretold events, as their name imported, for we called them Ah-affoe-waycah, which fignifies calculators or yearly men, our year being called Ah affoe. They wore their beards, and when they died they were fucceeded by their fons. Most of their implements and things of value were interred along with them. Pipes and tobacco were also put into the grave with the corpse, which was always perfumed and ornamented, and animals were offered in facrifice to them. None accompanied their funerals but those of the same profession or tribe. These buried. them after funfet, and always returned from the grave by a different way from that which they went.

These magicians were also our doctors or physicians. They practised bleeding by cupping; and were very successful in healing wounds and expelling poisons. They had likewise some extraordinary method of discovering jealousy, these, and poisoning; the success of which no doubt they derived from the unbounded influence over the credulity and superstition of the people. I do not re-

member

member what those methods were, except that as to poisoning: I recollect au instance or two, which I hope it will not be deemed impertinent here to infert, as it may ferve as a kind of specimen of the rell, and is still used by the negroes in the West Indies. A young woman had been poisoned, but it was not known by whom: the doctors ordered the corple to be taken up by some persons, and carried to the grave. As foon as the bearers had raifed it on their shoulders, they seemed feized with fome" fudden impulse, and ran to and fro unable to stop themselves. At last, after having paffed through a number of thorns and prickly bushes unburt, the corpse fell from them close to a house, and defaced it in the fall; and the owner being taken up, he immediately confessed the poisoningt.

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^{*} See also Lieut. Matthew's Voyage, p. 123.

† An instance of this kind happened at Montserrat in the West Indies in the year 1763. I then belonged to the Charming Sally, Capt. Doran.—The chief mate, Mr. Manssield, and some of the crew being one day on shore, were present at the burying of a possoned negro girl. Though they had often heard of the circumstance of the running in such cases, and had even seen it, they imagined it to be a trick of the corpse-bearers. The mate therefore desired two of the sallors to take up the cossin, and carry it to the grave. The sallors, who were all of the same opinion, readily obeyed; but they had

The natives are extremely cautious about poison. When they buy any eatable the feller kisses it all round before the buyer, to shew him it is not poisoned; and the same is done when any meat or drink is presented, particularly to a stranger. We have serpents of different kinds, some of which are esteemed ominous when they appear in our houses, and these we never molest. I remember two of those ominous snakes, each of which was as thick as the calf of a man's leg, and in colour resembling a dolphin in the water, crept at different times into my mother's night house, where I always lay with her, and coiled themfelves into folds, and each time they crowed like a cock. I was defired by some of our wife men to touch thefe, that I might be interested in the good omens, which I did, for they were quite harmless, and would tamely fuffer themselves to be handled; and then

fcarcely raifed it to their shoulders before they began to run surjously about, quite unable to direct themselves. till, at last, without intention, they came to the hut of him who had poisoned the girl. The cossin then immediately sell from their shoulders against the hut, and damaged part of the wall. The owner of the hut was taken into custody on this, and consessed the poisoning.—I give this story as it was related by the mate and crew on their return to the ship. The credit which is due to it I leave with the reader.

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they were put into a large open earthen pan, and set on one side of the highway. Some of our snakes, however, were poisonous: one of them crossed the road one day as I was standing on it, and passed between my feet without offering to touch me, to the great surprise of many who saw it; and these incidents were accounted by the wise men, and likewise by my mother and the rest of the people, as remarkable omens in my favour.

Such is the imperfect sketch my memory has furnished me with of the manners and customs of a people among whom I first drew my breath. And here I cannot forbear fuggesting what has long struck me very forcibly. namely, the strong analogy which even by this sketch, imperfect as it is, appears to prevail in the manners and cultoms of my countrymen and those of the Jews, before they reached the Land of Promife, and particularly the patriarchs while they were yet in that pastoral state which is described in Genesis - an analogy which alone would induce me to think that the one people had forung from the other. Indeed this is the opinion of Dr. Gill, who, in his Commentary on Genesis, very ably deduces the pedigree of the Africans from Afer and Afra, the descendants of Abraham by Keturah his wife and concubine (for both thefe

these titles are applied to her.) It is also conformable to the fentiments of Dr. John Clarke, formerly Dean of Sarum, in his Truth of the Christian Religion: both these authors concur in afcribing to us this original. The reasonings of those gentlemen are still further confirmed by the scripture chronology of the Rev. Arthur Bedford; and if any further corroboration were required, this refemblance in fo many respects is a strong evidence in support of the opinion. Like the Ifraelites in their primitive state, our government was conducted by our chiefs or judges, our wife men and elders; and the head of a family with us enjoyed a fimilar authority over his household with that which is ascribed to Abraham and the other patriarchs. The law of retaliation obtained almost universally with us as with them: and even their religion appeared to have shed upon us a ray of its glory, though broken and fpent in its passage, or eclipsed by the cloud with which time, tradition, and ignorance, might have enveloped it: for we had our circuincision (a rule I believe peculiar to that people): we had also our facrifices and burntofferings, our washings and purifications, on the fame occasions as they had.

As to the difference of colour between the Eboan Africans and the modern Jews, I shall

not prefume to account for it. It is a subject which has engaged the pens of men of both genius and learning, and is far above my strength. The most able and Reverend Mr. T. Clarkson, however, in his much admired Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, has ascertained the cause in a manner that at once folves every objection on that account, and, on my mind at least has produced the fullest conviction. I shall therefore refer to that performance for the theory*, contenting myself with extracting a fact as related by Dr. Mitchelt. "The "Spaniards, who have inhabited America, " under the torrid zone, for any time, are be-" come as dark coloured as our native Indians " of Virginia; of which I myfelf have been a " witness." There is also another instancet of a Portuguese settlement at Mitomba, a river in Sierra Leona; where the inhabitants are bred from a mixture of the first Portuguese discoveries with the natives, and are now become in their complexion, and in the woolly quality of their hair, perfect negroes, retaining

Page 178 to 216.

Philof. Tranf. No. 476, Sect. 4, cited by the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, p. 205.

Same Page.

however a fmattering of the Portuguele

language.

These instances, and a great many more which might be adduced, while they shew how the complexions of the same persons vary in different climates, it is hoped may tend also to remove the prejudice that fome conceive against the natives of Africa on account of their colour. Surely the minds of the Spaniards did not change with their complexions! Are there not causes enough to which the apparent inferiority of an African may be ascribed, without limiting the goodness of God and supposing he forbore to stamp understanding on certainly his own image, because " carved in ebony?" Might it not naturally be ascribed to their situation? When they come among Europeans, they are ignorant of their language, religion, manners, and customs. Are any pains taken to teach them these? Are they treated as men? Does not flavery itself depress the mind, and extinguish all its fire and every noble fentiment? But, above all, what advantages do not a refined people possess over those who are rude and uncultivated. Let the polished and haughty European recollect that his ancestors were once, like the Africans, uncivilized, and even barbarous. Did Nature make them inferior nade flaves? Every rational mind answers, No. Let such reflections as these melt the pride of their superiority into sympathy, for the wants and miseries of their sable brethren, and compel them to acknowledge, that understanding is not confined to feature or colour. If, when they look round the world, they seel exultation, let it be tempered with benevolence to others, and gratitude to God, "who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth"; "and whose wisdom is not our wisdom, neither are our ways his ways."

• Ads xvil. 26.

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CHAP. II.

The author's birth and parentage—His being kidnapped with his sister—Their separation—Surprise at meeting again—Are finally separated—Account of the different places and incidents the author met with till his arrival on the coast—The effect the sight of a slave ship had on him—He sails for the West Indies—Horrors of a slave ship—Arrives at Barbadoes, where the cargo is sold and dispersed.

I HOPE the reader will not think I have trespassed on his patience in introducing myfelf to him with fome account of the manners and customs of my country. They had been implanted in me with great care, and made an impression on my mind, which time could not erafe, and which all the adverfity and variety of fortune I have fince experienced, ferved only to rivet and record; for, whether the love of one's country be real or imaginary, or a lesson of reason, or an instinct of nature, I still look back with pleasure on the first scenes of my life, though that pleasure has been for the most part mingled with I have forrow.

I have already acquainted the reader with the time and place of my birth. My father, besides many slaves, had a numerous family, of which seven lived to grow up, including myfelf and a fifter, who was the only daughter. As I was the youngest of the sons, I became, of course the greatest favourite with my mother, and was always with her; and she used to take particular pains to form my mind. I was trained up from my earliest years in the art of war: my daily exercise was shooting and throwing javelins; and my mother adorned me with emblems, after the manner of our greatest warriors. In this way I grew up till I was turned the age of eleven, when an end was put to my happiness in the following manner: Generally when the grown people in the neighbourhood were gone far in the fields to labour, the children affembled together in some of the neighbours' premises to play; and commonly some of us used to get up a tree to look out for any affailant, or kidnapper, that might come upon us; for they fometimes took those opportunities of our parents' absence, to attack and carry off as many as they could feize. One day, as I was watching at the top of a tree in our yard, I faw one of those people come into the yard of our next neighbour but one, to kidnap, CA there

there being many flout young people in it. Immediately on this I gave the alarm of the rogue, and he was furrounded by the stoutest of them, who entangled him with cord, fo that he could not escape till some of the grown people came and secured him. But alas! ere long it was my fate to be thus attacked, and to be carried off, when none of the grown people were nigh. One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear fifter were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment feized us both; and, without giving us time to cry out, or make refistance, they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a fmall house, where the robbers halted for refreshment and spent the night. We were then unbound, but were unable to take any food; and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was fome fleep, which allayed our misfortune for a short time. The next morning we left the house, and continued travelling all the day. For a long time we had kept the woods, but at last we came into a road which I believed I knew. I had now some hopes of being delivered; livered: for we had advanced but a little way before I discovered some people at a distance, on which I began to cry out for their affiftance; but my cries had no other effect than to make them tie me faster and stop my mouth, and then they put me into a large fack. They also stopped my fifter's mouth, and tied her hands; and in this manner we proceeded till we were out of the fight of these people.-When we went to rest the following night they. offered us some victuals; but we refused it; and the only comfort we had was in being in one another's arms all that night, and bathing each other with our tears. But alas! we were foon deprived of even the small comfort of weeping together. The next day proved a day of greater forrow than I had yet experienced; for my fifter and I were then feparated, while we lay clasped in each other's arms: it was in vain that we befought them not topart us; she was torn from me, and immediately carried away, while I was left in a state of distraction not to be described. I cried and grieved continually; and for feveral days. did not eat any thing but what they forced into my mouth. At length, after many days travelling, during which I had often changed masters, I got into the hands of a chieftain, in a very pleafant country. This man had two wives

wives and fome children, and they all used me extremely well, and did all they could to comfort me; particularly the first wife, who was fomething like my mother. Although I was a great many days journey from my father's house, yet these people spoke exactly the same language with us. This first master of mine, as I may call him, was a fmith, and my principal employment was working his bellows. which were the fame kind as I had feen in my vicinity. They were in some respects not unlike the stoves here in gentlemen's kitchens; and were covered over with leather; and in the middle of that leather a stick was fixed. and a person stood up, and worked it, in the fame manner as is done to pump water out of a cask with a hand pump. I believe it was gold he worked, for it was of a lovely bright yellow colour, and was worn by the women on their wrists and ancles. I was there I suppose about a month, and they at last used to trust me some little distance from the house. This liberty I used in embracing every opportunity to inquite the way to my own home: and I also fometimes, for the same purpose, went with the maidens, in the cool of the evenings, to bring pitchers of water from the springs for the use of the house. I had also remarked where the fun tofe in the morning, and fet in the

the evening, as I had travelled along; and I bad observed that my father's house was towards the rifing of the fun. I therefore determined to feize the first opportunity of making my escape, and to shape my course for that quarter; for I was quite oppressed and weighed down by grief after my mother and friends; and my love of liberty, ever great, was strengthened by the mortifying circumstance of not daring to eat with the free-born children, although I was mostly their companion.-While I was projecting my escape, one day an unlucky event happened, which quite difconcerted my plan, and put an end to my hopes. I used to be sometimes employed in affilting an elderly woman flave to cook and take care of the poultry: and one morning, while I was feeding some chickens, I happened to tofs a small pebble at one of them, which hit it on the middle, and directly killed it. The old flave, having foon after missed the chicken, inquired after it; and on my relating the accident (for I told her the truth, because my mother would never suffer me to tell a lie) she slew into a violent passion, threatened that I should suffer for it; and, my master being out, she immediately went and told her mistress what I had done. This alarmed me very much, and I expected an inflant flogging,

flogging, which to me was uncommonly dreadful; for I had feldom been beaten at home. I therefore refolved to fly; and accordingly I ran into a thicket that was hard by. and hid myfelf in the bufhes. Soon afterwards my mistress and the slave returned, and, not feeing me, they fearched all the house, but not finding me, and I not making answer when they called to me, they thought I had run away, and the whole neighbourhood was raifed in the pursuit of me. In that part of the country (as well as ours) the houses and villages were skirted with woods, or shrubberies, and the bushes were so thick that a man could readily conceal himself in them, so as to elude the strictest search. The neighbours continued the whole day looking for me, and feveral times many of them came within a few yards of the place where I lay hid. I expected every moment, when I heard a ruftling among the trees, to be found out, and punished by my master: but they never discovered me, though they were often fo near that I even heard their conjectures, as they were looking about for me; and I now learned from them. that any attempt to return home would be Most of them supposed I had fled towards home; but the distance was so great, and the way fo intricate, that they thought I could

could never reach it, and that I should be lost in the woods. When I heard this I was seized with a violent panic, and abandoned myself to despair. Night too began to approach, and aggravated all my fears. I had before entertained hopes of getting home, and had determined when it should be dark to make the attempt; but I was now convinced it was fruitless, and began to consider that, if possibly I could escape all other animals, I could not those of the human kind; and that, not knowing the way, I must perish in the woods.—Thus was I like the hunted deer:

"Ev'ry leaf and ev'ry whifp'ring breath "Convey'd a foe, and ev'ry foe a death."

I heard frequent rustlings among the leaves; and being pretty sure they were snakes, I expected every instant to be stung by them.—
This increased my anguish, and the horror of my situation became now quite insupportable. I at length quitted the thicket, very faint and hungry, for I had not eaten or drank any thing all the day; and crept to my master's kitchen, from whence I set out at first, and which was an open shed, and laid myself down in the ashes with an anxious wish for death to relieve me from all my pains. I was scarcely awake in the morning, when the old woman slave,

who was the first up, came to light the fire, and saw me in the fire place. She was very much surprised to see me, and could scarcely believe her own eyes. She now promised to intercede for me, and went for her master, who soon after came, and, having slightly reprimanded me, ordered me to be taken care

of, and not ill treated.

Soon after this my master's only daughter, and child by his first wife, sickened and died, which affected him fo much that for fome time he was almost frantic, and really would have killed himself, had he not been watched and prevented. However, in a small time afterwards he recovered, and I was again fold. I was now carried to the left of the fun's rifing, through many dreary wastes and dismal woods. amidst the hideous roarings of wild beasts .-The people I was fold to used to carry me very often, when I was tired, either on their shoulders or on their backs. I saw many convenient well-built fheds along the road, at proper distances, to accommodate the merchants and travellers, who lay in those buildings along with their wives, who often accompany them; and they always go well armed.

From the time I left my own nation I always found somebody that understood me till I came to the sea coast. The languages of different

nations

nations did not totally differ, nor were they fo copious as those of the Europeans, particularly the English. They were therefore easily learned; and, while I was journeying thus through Africa, I acquired two or three different tongues. In this manner I had been travelling for a confiderable time, when one evening, to my great furprise, whom should I fee brought to the house where I was but my dear fifter? As foon as she faw me she gave a loud shriek, and ran into my arms-I was quite overpowered: neither of us could speak; but, for a confiderable time, clung to each other in mutual embraces, unable to do any thing but weep. Our meeting affected all who faw us; and indeed I must acknowledge. in honour of those sable destrovers of human rights, that I never met with any ill treatment, or faw any offered to their flaves, except tying them, when necessary, to keep them from running away. When these people knew we were brother and fifter they indulged us to be together; and the man, to whom I supposed we belonged, lay with us, he in the middle, while she and I held one another by the hands across his breast all night; and thus for a while we forgot our misfortunes in the joy of being together: but even this small comfort was foon to have an end; for scarcely had the fatal

fatal morning appeared, when she was again torn from me for ever! I was now more miferable, if possible, than before. The small relief which her presence gave me from pain was gone, and the wretchedness of my fituation was redoubled by my anxiety after her fate, and my apprehensions lest her sufferings should be greater than mine, when I could not be with her to alleviate them. Yes, thou dear partner of all my childish sports! thou sharer of my joys and forrows; happy should I have ever esteemed myself to encounter every misery. for you, and to procure your freedom by the facrifice of my own! Though you were early forced from my arms, your image has been always rivetted in my heart, from which neither time nor fortune have been able to remove it: fo. that, while the thoughts of your fufferings have damped my prosperity, they have mingled with advertity and increased its bitterness. -To that Heaven which protects the weak from. the strong, I commit the care of your innocence and virtues, if they have not already. received their full reward, and if your youth and delicacy have not long fince fallen victims. to the violence of the African trader, the peltilential stench of a Guinea ship, the seasoning in the European colonies, or the lash and lust. of a brutal and unrelenting overfeer.

did

I did not long remain after my fifter. I was again fold, and carried through a number of places, till, after travelling a confiderable time, I came to a town called Tinmah, in the most beautiful country I had yet seen in Africa. It was extremely rich, and there were many rivulets which flowed through it, and fupplied a large pond in the centre of the town, where the people washed. Here I first saw and tasted cocoa nuts, which I thought fuperior to any nuts I had ever tafted before; and the trees, which were loaded, were also interspersed amongst the houses, which had commodious shades adjoining, and were in the same manner as ours, the infides being neatly plaftered and white washed. Here I also saw and tafted for the first time sugar-cane. Their money confifted of little white shells, the fize of the finger nail. I was fold here for one hundred and feventy-two of them by a merchant who lived and brought me there. I had been about two or three days at his house, when a wealthy widow, a neighbour of his, came there one evening, and brought with her an only fon a young gentleman about my own age and fize. Here they faw me; and having taken a fancy to me, I was bought of the merchant and went home with them. Her house and premises were situated close to one of of those rivulets I have mentioned, and were the finest I ever saw in Africa: they were very extensive, and she had a number of slaves to attend her. The next day I was washed and perfumed, and when meal-time came, I was led into the presence of my mistress, and eat and drank before her with her fon. This filled me with astonishment; and I could scarce help expressing my surprise that the young gentleman should suffer me, who was bound, to eat with him who was free; and not only fo, but that he would not at any time either eat or drink till I had taken first, because I was the eldest, which was agreeable to our custom. Indeed every thing here, and all their treatment of me, made me forget that I was a flave. The language of these people refembles ours fo nearly, that we understood each other perfectly. They had also the very fame customs as we. There were likewise slaves daily to attend us, while my young master and I, with other boys, sported with our darts and bows and arrows, as I had been used to do at home. In this refemblance to my former happy state. I passed about two months; and I now began to think I was to be adopted into the family, and was beginning to be reconciled to my fituation, and to forget by degrees my miffortunes, when all at once the delusion vanished: ed; for, without the least previous knowledge, one morning, early, while my dear master and companion was still asleep, I was awakened out of my reverie to fresh forrow, and hurried

away even amongst the uncircumcifed.

Thus, at the very moment I dreamed of the greatest happiness, I found myself most miserable; and it seemed as if fortune wished to give me this taste of joy, only to render the reverse more poignant. The change I now experienced was as painful as it was sudden and unexpected. It was a change indeed from a state of bliss to a scene which is inexpressible by me, as it discovered to me an element I had never before beheld, and till then had no idea of; and wherein such instances of hardship and cruelty continually occurred as I can never resect on but with horror.

All the nations and people I had hitherto passed through resembled our own in their manners, customs, and language: but I came at length to a country, the inhabitants of which differed from us in all those particulars. I was very much struck with this difference, especially when I came amongst a people who did not circumcise, and eat without washing their hands. They cooked also in iron pots, and had European cutlasses and cross bows, which were unknown to us, and fought with their

their fifts amongst themselves. Their women were not so modest as ours, for they eat, and drank, and flept, with their men. But above all, I was amazed to fee no facrifices or offerings among them. In some of those places the peopleornamented themselves with scars, and likewife filed their teeth very sharp. They wanted fometimes to ornament me in the fame manner, but I would not fuffer them; hoping that I might fome time be among a people who did not thus disfigure themselves, as I thought they did. At last I came to the banks of a large river, which was covered with canoes, in which the people appeared to live with their household utenfils and provisions of all kinds. I was beyond measure astonished at this, as I had never before feen any water larger than a pond or a rivulet: and my furprife was mingled with no fmall fear when I was put into one of these canoes, and we began to paddle and move along the river. We continued going on thus till night; and when we came to land, and made fires on the banks, each family by themselves, some dragged their canoes on shore, others stayed and cooked in theirs, and laid in them all night. Those on the land had mats, of which they made tents, fome in the shape of little houses: in these we flept: and after the morning meal, we embarked again and proceeded as before, I was often very much aftonished to see some of the women, as well as the men, jump into the water, dive to the bottom, come up again, and fwim about. Thus I continued to travel, fometimes by land, fometimes by water, through different countries and various nations, till, at the end of fix or feven months after I had been kidnapped, I arrived at the sea coast. It would be tedious and uninteresting to relate all the incidents which befel me during this journey, and which I have not yet forgotten; of the various lands I paffed through, and the manners and customs of all the different people among whom I lived: I shall therefore only observe, that in all the places where I was, the foil was exceedingly rich; the pomkins, eadas, plantains, yams, &c. &c. were in great abundance, and of incredible fize. There were also large quantities of different gums, though not used for any purpose; and every where a great deal of tobacco. The cotton even grew quite wild; and there was plenty of red wood. I faw no mechanics whatever in all the way, except fuch as I have mentioned. The chief employment in all these countries was agriculture. and both the males and females, as with us, were brought up to it, and trained in the arts of war. The

The first object which faluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with aftonishment, which was soon converted into terror, which I am yet at a loss to describe; and the then feelings of my mind when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled, and toffed up to see if I were found, by some of the crew; and I was now perfuaded that I had got into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing fo much from ours, their long hair, and the language they fpoke (which was very different from any I had ever heard), united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country. When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and forrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little

fittle I found fome black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and long hair. They told me I was not: and one of the crew brought me a fmall portion of spirituous liquor in a wine glass; but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand. One of the blacks therefore took it from him and gave it to me, and I took a little down my palate, which instead of reviving me, as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest consterna--tion at the strange feeling it produced, having never tafted any fuch liquor before. Soon after this the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to despair. I now faw myfelf deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimple of hope of gaining the shore, which I now confidered as friendly; and I even wished for my former flavery in preference to my prefent fituation, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long fuffered to indulge my grief; I was foon put down under the decks, and there I received fuch a falutation

tation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so fick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least defire to taste any thing. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but foon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across, I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me feverely. I had never experienced any thing of this kind before; and although not being used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the fide, but I could not; and, befides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, left we should leap into the water: and I have feen some of these poor African prifoners most severely cut for attempting to do fo, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us? they gave me to understand we were to be carried

mainut

to these white people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was not fo desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so favage a manner; for I had never feen among any people fuch instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One whiteman in particular I faw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged fo unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast, that he died in confequence of it; and they toffed him over the fide as they would have done a brute. This made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my countrymen: I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place (the ship)? they told me they did not, but came from a distant one. 'Then,' faid I, 'how comes it in all our country we never heard of them?' They told me, because they lived so very far off. I then asked, where were their women? had they any like themselves? I was told they had: 'And why,' faid I, 'do we not fee them?" they answered, because they were left behind.

I asked how the vessel could go? they told me they could not tell; but that there were cloth put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I faw, and then the vessel went on; and the white men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to ftop the veffel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. I therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected they would facrifice me: but my wishes were vain; for we were so quartered that it was impossible for any of us to make our escape. While we stayed on the coast I was mostly on deck; and one day, to my great aftonishment, I saw one of these veffels coming in with the fails up. As foon as the whites faw it, they gave a great shout, at which we were amazed; and the more fo as the vessel appeared large by approaching nearer. At last she came to an anchor in my fight, and when the anchor was let go, I and my countrymen who faw it were lost in aftonishment to observe the vessel stop; and were now convinced it was done by magic. Soon after this the other ship got her boats out, and they came on board of us, and the people of both ships seemed very glad to see each other. Several of the strangers also shook hands with us black people, and made motions with their hands,

hands, fignifying, I suppose, we were to go to their country; but we did not understand them. At last, when the ship we were in had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, fo that we could not fee how they managed the veffel. But this disappointment was the least of my forrow. The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathfome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and fome of us had been permitted to flay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the thip, which was fo crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, fo that the air foon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a fickness among the flaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched fituation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains. now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. **fhrieks**

Arieks of the women, and the groans of the dying; rendered the whole: a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myfelf I was foon reduced to low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters. In this fituation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death. which I began to hope would foon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself; I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs. Every circumstance I met with ferved only to render my state more painful, and heighten my apprehensions and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites. One day they had taken a number of fishes; and when they had killed and fatisfied themfelves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on the deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat, as we expected, they toffed the remaining fish into the fea again, although we begged and prayed for fome as well as we could, but in vain; and fome of my countrymen, being preffed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they thought

thought no one faw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very

o de fragranta.

fevere floggings.

One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to fuch a life of mifery, fomehow made through the nettings and jumped into the fea: immediately another quite dejected fellow, who on account of his illness was fuffered to be out of irons, also followed their example; and I believe many more would very foon have done the same, if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew, who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active were in a moment put down under the deck; and there was fuch a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the flaves. However two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other, and afterwards flogged him unmercifully, for thus attempting to prefer death to flavery. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate, hardships which are inseparable from this accurred trade.— Many a time we were near fuffocation from D 3 the

the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs, carried off During our passage I first saw slying fishes, which surprised me very much: they used frequently to fly across the ship, and many of them fell on the deck. I also now first saw the use of the quadrant; I had often with aftonishment seen the mariners make obfervations with it, and I could not think what it meant. They at last took notice of my furprise: and one of them willing to increase it, as well as to gratify my curiofity, made me one day look through it. The clouds appeared to me to be land, which disappeared as they passed along. This heightened my wonder; and I was now more perfuaded than ever that I was in another world, and that every thing about me was magic. At last we came in fight of the island of Barbadoes, at which the whites on board gave a great mout, and made many fighs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this; but as the vessel drew nearer we plainly saw the harbour, and other ships of different kinds and fizes; and we foon anchored amongst them off Bridge Town. Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels,

parcels, and examined us attentively. They also made us jump, and pointed to the land, fignifying we were to go there. We thought by this we should be eaten by these ugly men, as they appeared to us; and, when foon after we were all put down under the deck again, there was much dread and crembling among us, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions; infomuch that at last the white people got fome old flaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were foon to go on land, where we should fee many of our country people. This report eafed us much; and fure enough, foon after we landed, there came to us Africans of all languages. We were conducted immediately to the merchant's yard, where we were all pent up together like so many sheep in a fold, without regard to fex or age. As every object was new to me, every thing I faw filled me with furprife. What struck me first was that the houses were built with bricks and stories, and in every other respect different from those I had seen in Africa: but I was still more assonished on feeing people on horseback. I did not know what this could mean; and indeed I thought thele people were full of nothing but magical D 4

While I was in this aftonishment one arts. of my fellow prisoners spoke to a countryman of his about the horses, who faid they were the fame kind they had in their country. I understood them, though they were from a distant part of Africa, and I thought it odd I had not feen any horses there; but afterwards when I came to converse with different Africans, Ifound they had many horses amongst them, and much larger than those I then faw. We were not many days in the merchant's custody before we were fold after their usual manner, which is this: - On a fignal given, (as the beat of a drum), the buyers rush at once into the yard where the flaves are confined, and make choice of that parcel they like best. The noise and clamour with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers, ferve not a little to increase the apprehension of the terrified Africans, who may well be supposed to confider them as the ministers of that destruction to which they think themselves devoted. In this manner, without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to fee each other again. I remember in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the men's apartment, there were feveral brothers, who, in the fale, were fold in different lots; and

and it was very moving on this occasion to fee and hear their cries at parting. O, ye nominal Christians! might not an African ask you, learned you this from your God, who fays unto you, Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you? Is it not enough that we are torn from our country and friends to toil for your luxury and luft of gain? Must every tender feeling be likewise sacrificed to your avarice? Are the dearest friends and relations, now rendered more dear by their feparation from their kindred, still to be parted from each other, and thus prevented from cheering the gloom of flavery with the small comfort of being together and mingling their fufferings and forrows? Why are parents to lose their children, brothers their fifters, or husbands their wives? Surely this is a new refinement in cruelty, which, while it has no advantage to atone for it, thus aggravates distress, and adds fresh horrors even to the wretchedness of slavery. and the har one is all you made, it should

when I and tooks for more flages, or as were not being your through the took, from very 1 ach I clings your through of it, a flage for horth superiod. The the profite was very surfer nother than when a consequence, it we all a

D'5 CHAP.

CHAP. III.

today or the to spring or this out that

The outhor is carried to Virginia—His diffress
—Surprise at seeing a picture and a watch—
Is bought by Captain Pascal, and sets out for
England—His terror during the vayage—
Arrives in England—His wonder at a fall
of snow—Is sent to Guernsey, and in some
time goes on board a ship of war with his
master—Some account of the expedition
against Louisbourg under the command of
Admiral Boscawen, in 1758.

I wow totally lost the small remains of comfort I had enjoyed in conversing with my countrymen; the women too, who used to wash and take care of me, were all gone different ways, and I never saw one of them afterwards.

I stayed in this island for a few days; I believe it could not be above a fortnight; when I and some few more slaves, that were not saleable amongst the test, from very much fretting, were shipped off in a sloop for North America. On the passage we were better treated than when we were coming from Africa, and we had plenty of rice and fat pork.

We

We were landed up a river a good way from the fea, about Virginia county, where we faw few or none of our native Africans, and not one foul who could talk to me. I was a few weeks weeding grass and gathering sones in a plantation; and at last all my companions were distributed different ways, and only myfelf was left. I was now exceedingly miferable, and thought myfelf worfe off than any of the rest of my companions; for they could talk to each other, but I had no person to speak to that I could understand. state I was constantly grieving and pining, and wishing for death rather than any thing elfe. While I was in this plantation the gentleman to whom I supposed the estate belonged being unwell, I was one day fent for to his dwelling house to fan him: when I came into the room where he was I was very much affrighted at some things I saw, and the more fo as I had feen a black woman flave as I came through the house, who was cooking the dinner, and the poor creature was cruelly loaded with various kinds of iron machines; fhe had one particularly on her head, which locked her mouth so fast that she could scarcely fpeak; and could not eat nor drink. I was much astonished and shocked at this contrivance, which I afterwards learned was called the iron sbara

iron muzzle. Soon after I had a fan put into my hand, to fan the gentleman while he flept: and fo I did indeed with great fear. While he was fast asleep I indulged myself a great deal in looking about the room, which to me appeared very fine and curious. The first object that engaged my attention was a watch which hung on the chimney, and was going. I was quite furprised at the noise it made, and was afraid it would tell the gentleman any thing I might do amifs: and when I immediately after observed a picture hanging in the room, which appeared constantly to look at me, I was still more affrighted, having never feen fuch things as thefe before. At one time I thought it was fomething relative to magic; and not feeing it move I thought it might be some way the whites had to keep their great men when they died, and offer them libations as we used to do to our friendly spirits. In this state of anxiety I remained till my master awoke, when I was dismissed out of the room, to my no small fatisfaction and relief; for I thought that these people were all made up of wonders. In this place I was called Jacob; but on board the African fnow I was called Michael. I had been some time in this miserable, forlorn, and much dejected state, without having any one to talk to, which made: made my life a burden, when the kind and unknown hand of the Creator (who in every deed leads the blind in a way they know not) now began to appear, to my comfort; for one day the captain of a merchant ship called the Industrious Bee, came on some business to my master's house. This gentleman, whose name was Michael Henry Pascal, was a lieutenant in the royal navy, but now commanded this trading ship, which was somewhere in the confines of the county many miles off. While he was at my master's house it happened that he faw me, and liked me fo well that he made a purchase of me. I think I have often heard him fay he gave thirty or forty pounds sterling for me; but I do not now remember which. However, he meant me for a prefent to some of his friends in England: and I was fent accordingly from the house of my then master (one Mr. Campbell) to the place where the ship lay; I was conducted on horseback by an elderly black man (a mode of travelling which appeared very odd to me). When I arrived I was carried on board a fine large ship, loaded with tobacco, &c. and just ready to fail for England. I now thought my condition much mended; I had fails to lie on, and plenty of good victuals to eat; and every, body on board used me very kindly, quite contrary

contrary to what I had feen of any white people before; I therefore began to think that they were not all of the same disposition. A few days after I was on board we failed for England. I was still at a loss to conjecture my destiny. By this time, however, I could fmatter a little imperfect English; and I wanted to know as well as I could where we were going. Some of the people of the ship used to tell me they were going to carry me back to my own country, and this made me very happy. I was quite rejoiced at the idea of going back; and thought if I should get home what wonders I should have to tell. But I was referved for another fate, and was foon undeceived when we came within fight of the English coast. While I was on board this ship my captain and master named me Gustavus Vassa. I at that time began to understand him a little, and refused to be called fo, and told him as well as I could that I would be called Jacob; but he faid I should not, and still called me Gustavus; and when I refused to answer to my new name, which at first I did, it gained me many a cuff; fo at length I fubmitted, and by which I have been known ever fince. The ship had a very long passage; and on that account we had very thort allowance of provisions. Towards the last we had only COLLEGE

only one pound and a half of bread per week. and about the fame quantity of meat, and one quart of water a-day. We spoke with only one vessel the whole time we were at sea, and but once we caught a few fishes. In our extremities the captain and people told me in jest they would kill and eat me, but I thought them in earnest, and was depressed beyond measure, expecting every moment to be my last. While I was in this situation one evening they caught, with a good deal of trouble, a large shark, and got it on board. This gladdened my poor heart exceedingly, as I thought it would ferve the people to eat instead of their eating me; but very foon, to my aftonishment, they cut off a small part of the tail, and toffed the rest over the side. This renewed my consternation; and I did not know what to think of these white people, though I very much feared they would kill and eat me. There was on board the ship a young lad who had never been at sea before, about four or five years older than myfelf: his name was Richard Baker. He was a native of America, had received an excellent education, and was of a most amiable temper. Soon after I went on board he shewed me a great deal of partiality and attention, and in return I grew extremely fond of him. Weat length became

became inseparable; and, for the space of two years, he was of very great use to me, and was my constant companion and instructor. Although this dear youth had many flaves of his own, yet he and I have gone through many fufferingstogether on shipboard; and we have many nights lain in each other's bosoms when we were in great distress. Thus fuch a friendship was cemented between us as we cherished till his death, which, to my very great forrow, happened in the year 1759, when he was up the Archipelago, on board his majefty's ship the Preston: an event which I have never ceased to regret, as I lost at once a kind interpreter, an agreeable companion, and a faithful friend; who, at the age of fifteen, discovered a mind superior to prejudice; and who was not ashamed to notice, to affociate with, and to be the friend and instructor of, one who was ignorant, a stranger of a different complection, and a flave! My mafter had lodged in his mother's house in America: he respected him very much, and made him always eat with him in the cabin. He used often to tell him joeularly that he would kill and eat me. Sometimes he would fay to me-the black people were not good to eat, and would ask me if we did not eat people in my country. I faid, No:

No: then he faid he would kill Dick (as he always called him) first, and afterwards me. Though this hearing relieved my mind a little as to myfelf, I was alarmed for Dick, and whenever he was called I used to be very much afraid he was to be killed; and I would peep and watch to fee if they were going to kill him: nor was I free from this consternation till we made the land. One night we loft a man overboard; and the cries and noise were fo great and confused, in stopping the ship, that I, who did not know what was the matter, began, as usual, to be very much afraid, and to think they were going to make an offering with me, and perform some magic; which I still believed they dealt in. As the waves were very high I thought the ruler of the feas was angry, and I expected to be offered up to appeale him. This filled my mind with agony, and I could not any more that night close my eyes again to rest. However, when daylight appeared, I was a little eafed in my mind; but still every time I was called I used to think it was to be killed. Some time after this we faw some very large fish, which I afterwards found were called grampuffes. They looked to me extremely terrible, and made their appearance just at dusk; and were fo near as to blow the water on the ship's

ship's deck. I believed them to be the rulers of the fea; and as the white people did not make any offerings at any time, I thought they were angry with them: and, at last, what confirmed my belief was, the wind just then died away, and a calm enfued, and in consequence of it the ship stopped going. I supposed that the fish had performed this, and I hid myfelf in the forepart of the ship, through fear of being offered up to appeale them, every minute peeping and quaking: but my good friend Dick came shortly towards me, and I took an opportunity to alk him, as well as I could, what these fish were. Not being able to talk much English, I could but just make him understand my question; and not at all, when I asked him if any offerings were to be made to them: however, he told me these fish would swallow any body; which sufficiently alarmed me. Herehe was called away by the captain, who was leaning over the quarter-deck railing and looking at the fish; and most of the people were busied in getting a barrel of pitch to light, for them to play with. The captain now called me to him, having learned some of my apprehensions from Dick; and having diverted himself and others for some time with my fears, which appeared ludicrous enough in my my crying and trembling, he difmissed me. The harrel of pitch was now lighted and put over the side into the water: by this time it was just dark, and the fish went after it; and,

to my great joy, I faw them no more.

However all my alarms began to subside when we got fight of land; and at last the ship arrived at Falmouth, after a passage of thirteen weeks, Every heart on board feemed gladdened on our reaching the shore, and none more than mine. The captain immediately went on shore, and sent on board some fresh provisions, which we wanted very much: we made good use of them, and our famine was foon turned into feafting, almost without ending. It was about the beginning of the spring 1757 when I arrived in England, and I was near twelve years of age at that time. I was very much struck with the buildings and the pavement of the streets in Falmouth; and, indeed, every object I faw filled me with new furprise. One morning, when I got upon deck, I faw it covered all over with the fnow that fell over-night: as I had never feen any thing of the kind before, I thought it was falt; fo I immediately ran down to the mate and defired him, as well as I could, to come and fee how fomebody in the night had thrown falt all over the deck. He. Cod.

He, knowing what it was, defired me to bring fome of it down to him: accordingly I took up a handful of it, which I found very cold indeed; and when I brought it to him he defired me to taste it. I did so, and I was surprised beyond measure. I then asked him what it was; He told me it was fnow: but I could not in any wife understand him. He asked me if we had no such thing in my country; and I told him, No. I then asked him the use of it, and who made it; he told me a great man in the heavens, called God: but here again I was to all intents and purpofes at a loss to understand him; and the more so, when a little after I saw the air filled with it, in a heavy shower, which fell down on the same day. After this I went to church; and having never been at fuch a place before, I was again amazed at feeing and hearing the fervice. I askedall I could about it; and they gave me to understand it was worshipping God, who made us and all things. I was still at a great loss, and soon got into an endless field of inquiries, as well as I was able to fpeak and ask about things. However, my little friend Dick used to be my best interpreter; for I could make free with him, and he always instructed me with pleasure: and from what I could understand by him of this God.

God, and in seeing these white people did not sell one another as we did, I was much pleased; and in this I thought they were much happier than we Africans. I was astonished at the wisdom of the white people in all things I saw; but was amazed at their not sacrificing, or making any offerings, and eating with unwashed hands, and touching the dead. I likewise could not help remarking the particular slenderness of their women, which I did not at first like; and I thought they were not so modest and shamesaced as the African women.

I had often feen my master and Dick employed in reading; and I had a great curiosity to talk to the books, as I thought they did; and so to learn how all things had a beginning: for that purpose I have often taken up a book, and have talked to it, and then put my ears to it, when alone, in hopes it would answer me; and I have been very much concerned when I found it remained silent.

My master lodged at the house of a gentleman in Falmouth, who had a fine little daughter about six or seven years of age, and she grew prodigiously fond of me; insomuch that we used to eat together, and had servants to wait on us. I was so much caressed by this family that it often reminded me of the treat-

ment

ment I had received from my little noble African mafter. After I had been here a few days, I was fent on board of the ship; but the child cried fo much after me that nothing could pacify her till I was fent for again. It is Indicrous enough, that I began to fear I should be betrothed to this young lady; and when my mafter asked me if I would stay there with her behind him, as he was going away with the ship, which had taken in the tobacco again, I cried immediately, and faid I would not leave him. At last, by stealth, one night I was fent on board the ship again; and in a little time we failed for Guernfey, where she was in part owned by a merchant, one Nicholas Doberty. As I was now amongst a people who had not their faces scarred, like fome of the African nations where I had been. I was very glad I did not let them ornament me in that manner when I was with them. When we arrived at Guernsey, my master placed me to board and lodge with one of his mates, who had a wife and family there; and fome months afterwards he went to England; and left me in care of this mate, together with my friend Dick: this mate had a little daughter, aged about five or fix years, with whom I used to be much delighted. I had often observed that when her mother washed 1110HT her

her face it looked very roly; but when the washed mine it did not look so: I therefore tried oftentimes myself if I could not by washing make my face of the fame colour as my little play-mate (Mary) but it was all in vain; and I now began to be mortified at the difference in our complexions. This woman behaved to me with great kindness and attention; and taught me every thing in the fame manner as fhe did her own child, and indeed in every respect treated me as such. I remained here till the fummer of the year 1757; when my mafter, being appointed first lieutenant of his majesty's ship the Roebuck, sent for Dick and me, and his old mate: on this we all left Guernsey, and set out for England in a sloop bound for London. As we were coming up towards the Nore, where the Roebuck lay, a man of war's boat came alongfide to press our people: on which each man ran to hide himfelf. I was very much frightened at this, though I did not know what it meant, or what to think or do. However I went and hid myfelf also under a hencoop. Immediately the press-gang came on board with their swords drawn, and fearched all about, pulled the people out by force, and put them into the boat. At last I was found out also; the man that found me held me up by the heek while they all all made their sport of me, I roaring and crying out all the time most lustily; but at last the mate, who was my conductor, feeing this, came to my affistance, and did all he could to pacify me; but all to very little purpose, till I had feen the boat go off. Soon afterwards we came to the Nore, where the Roebuck lay; and, to our great joy, my master came on board to us, and brought us to the ship. When I went on board this large ship, I was amazed indeed to fee the quantity of men and the guns. However my furprise began to diminish, as my knowledge increased; and I ceased to feel those apprehensions and alarms which had taken such strong possession of me when I first came among the Europeans, and for some time after. I began now to pass to an oppofite extreme; I was fo far from being afraid of any thing new which I faw, that, after I had been some time in this ship, I even began to long for an engagement. My griefs too, which in young minds are not perpetual, were now wearing away; and I foon enjoyed myfelf pretty well, and felt tolerably easy in my present situation. There was a number of boys on board, which still made it more agreeable; for we were always together, and a great part of our time was spent in play. I remained in this ship a considerable time, during which

we made feveral cruifes, and vifited a variety of places: among others we were twice in Holland, and brought over feveral persons of diffinction from it, whose names I do not now remember. On the passage, one day, for the diversion of those gentlemen, all the boys were called on the quarter deck, and were paired proportionably, and then made to fight; after which the gentlemen gave the combatants from five to nine shillings each. This was the first time I ever fought with a white boy; and theyer knew what it was to have a bloody nose before. This made me fight most desperately; I suppose considerably more than an hour: and at last, both of us being weary, we were parted. I had a great deal of this kind of fport afterwards, in which the captain and the ship's company used very much to encourage me. Sometime afterwards the ship went to Leith in Scotland, and from thence to the Orkneys, where I was furprifed in feeing: fcarcely any night; and from thence we failed with a great fleet, full of foldiers, for England. All this time we had never come to an engagement, though we were frequently cruifing off the coast of France; during which we chaled many vessels, and took in all seventeen prizes. I had been learning many of the manecuvres of the thip during our cruife; and I was feveral times made to fire the guns. One

One evening, off Havre de Grace, just as it was growing dark, we were standing off shore. and met with a fine large French-built frigate. We got all things immediately ready for fighting; and I now expected I should be gratified in feeing an engagement, which I had fo long wished for in vain. But the very moment the word of command was given to fire, we heard those on board the other ship cry 'Haul down the jib and in that instant she hoisted English colours. There was inflantly with us an amazing cry of- "Avast!" or 'stop firing; and I think one or two guns had been let off, but happily they did no mischief. We had hailed them feveral times; but they not hearing, we received no answer, which was the cause of our firing. The boat was then fent on board of her, and she proved to be the Ambuscade man of war, to my no small disappointment. We returned to Portfmouth, without having been in any action, just at the trial of Admiral Byng (whom I faw feveral times during it): and my mafter having left the ship, and gone to London for promotion, Dick and I were put on board the Savage floop of war, and we went, in her to affift in bringing off the St. George man of war, that had ran ashore fomewhere on the coast. After staying a few weeks on board the Savage, Dick and I were fent on shore at Deal, where we remained fome.

fome short time, till my master sent for us to London, the place I had long defired exceedingly to see. We therefore both with greatpleasure got into a waggon, and came to London, where we were received by a Mr. Guerin, a relation of my master. This gentleman had two fifters very amiable ladies, who took much notice and great care of me. Though I had defired fo much to fee London, when I arrived in it I was unfortunately unable to gratify my curiofity; for I had at this time the chilblains to fuch a degree that I could not stand for several months, and I was obliged to be fent to St. George's Hospital. There I grew foill, that the doctors wanted to cut my leg off at different times, apprehending a mortification; but I always faid I would rather die than fuffer it: and happily (I thank God) I recovered without the operation: After being there feveral weeks, and just as I had recovered, the finall pox broke out on me, fo that I was again confined; and I thought myfelf now particularly unfortunate. However Isoon recovered again; and by this time my mafter having been promoted to be first lieutenant of the Preston man of war of fifty guns, then new at Deptford, Dick and I were fent on board her, and foon after we went to Holland to bring over the late Duke of - to England. E 2 While

While I was in this ship an incident happened, which, though trifling, I beg leave to relate, as I could not help taking particular notice of it, and confidering it then as a judgment of God. One morning a young man was looking up to the fore-top, and in a wicked tone, common on shipboard, d-d his eyes about fomething. Just at the moment some small particles of dirt fell into his left eye, and by the evening it was very much inflamed. The next day it grew worfe, and within fix or feven days he lost it. From this ship my master was appointed a lieutenant on board the Royal George. When he was going he wished me to stay on board the Preston, to learn the French-horn; but the ship being ordered for Turkey I could not think of leaving my mafter, to whom I was very warmly attached; and I told him if he left me behind it would break my heart. This prevailed on him to take me with him; but he left Dick on board the Preston, whom I embraced at parting for the last time. The Royal George was the largest ship I had ever seen; so that when I came on board of her I was surprised at the number of people, men, women, and children, of every denomination; and the largeness of the guns, many of them also brass, which I had never feen before. Here were also shops

or Italls of every kind of goods, and people crying their different commodities about the ship as in a town. To me it appeared a little world, into which I was again cast without a friend, for I had no longer my dear companion Dick. We did not flay long here. My master was not many weeks on board before he got an appointment to be fixth lieutenant of the Namur, which was then at Spithead, fitting up for Vice-admiral Boscawen, who was going with a large fleet on an expedition against Louisbourgh. The crew of the Royal George were turned over to her, and the flag of that gallant admiral was hoisted on board, the blue at the maintop-gallant-mast head. There was a very great fleet of men of war of every description assembled together for this expedition, and I was in hopes foon to have an opportunity of being gratified with a fea-fight. All things being now in readiness, this mighty fleet (for there was also Admiral Cornish's fleet in company, destined for the East Indies) at last weighed anchor, and sailed. The two fleets continued in company for feveral days, and then parted; Admiral Cornish, in the Lenox, having first faluted our admiral in the Namur, which he returned. We then steered for America; but, by contrary winds, we were driven to Teneriffe, where I' was struck E 3 with

with its noted peak. Its prodigious height, and its, form refembling a fugar loaf, filled me with wonder. We remained in fight of this island some days, and then proceeded for America, which we foon made, and got into a very commodious harbour called St. George, in Halifax, where we had fish in great plenty, and all other fresh provisions. We were here joined by different men of war and transport ships with soldiers; after which, our fleet being increased to a prodigious number of ships of all kinds, we sailed for Cape Breton in Nova Scotia. We had the good and gallant General Wolfe on board our ship, whose affability made him highly esteemed and beloved by all the men. He often honoured me, as well as other boys with marks of his notice; and faved me once a flogging for fighting with a young gentleman. arrived at Cape Breton in the fummer of 1758: and here the foldiers were to be landed, in order to make an attack upon Louisbourgh. My mafter had fome part in fuperintending the landing; and here I was in a finall measure gratified in seeing an encounter between our men and the enemy. The French were posted on the shore to receive us, and disputed our landing for a long time: but at last they were driven from their trenches, trenches, and a complete landing was effected. Our troops pursued them as far as the town of Louisbourgh. In this action many were killed on both sides. One thing remarkable I saw this day:—A lieutenant of the Princess Amelia, who, as well as my master, superintended the landing, was giving the word of command, and while his mouth was open a musquet ball went through it, and passed out at his cheek. I had that day in my hand the scalp of an Indian king, who was killed in the engagement: the scalp had been taken off by an Highlander. I saw this king's ornaments too, which were very curious, and made of feathers.

Our land forces laid flege to the town of Louisbourgh, while the French men of war were blocked up in the harbour by the fleet, the batteries at the same time playing upon them from the land. This they did with fuch effect, that one day I faw some of the ships fet on fire by the shells from the batteries, and I believe two or three of them were quite burnt. At another time, about fifty boats belonging to the English men of war, commanded by Captain George Belfour of the Ætna fire ship, and Mr. Laforey, another junior captain, attacked and boarded the only two remaining French men of war in the harbour. They also set fire to a se-E4 ventyventy-gun ship, but a fixty-four, called the Bienfaifant, they brought off. During my stay here I had often an opportunity of being near captain Belfour, who was pleafed to notice me, and liked me fo much that he often asked my master to let him have me, but he would not part with me; and no confideration could have induced me to leave him. At last Louisbourgh was taken, and the English men of war came into the harbour before it, to my very great joy; for I had now more liberty of indulging myself, and I went often on shore. When the ships were in the harbour we had the most beautiful procession on the water I ever faw. All the admirals and captains of the men of war, full dreffed, and in their barges, well ornamented with pendants, came alongfide of the Namur. - The vice-admiral then went on shore in his barge, followed by the other officers in order of feniority, to take possession, as I suppose, of the town and fort. Some time after this the French governor and his lady, and other persons of note, came on board our ship to dine. On this occasion our thips were dreffed with colours of all kinds, from the topgallant-mast head to the deck; and this, with the firing of guns, formed a most grand and magnificent spectacle.

As foon as every thing here was fettled,

Admiral Boscawen failed with part of the fleet for England, leaving some ships behind with Rear admirals Sir Charles Hardy and It was now winter; and one evening, during our passage home, about dusk, when we were in the channel, or near foundings, and were beginning to look for land. we descried seven sail of large men of war, which stood off shore. Several people on board of our ship said, as the two fleets were (in forty minutes from the first fight) within hail of each other, that they were English men of war; and some of our people even began to name some of the ships. time both fleets began to mingle, and our admiral ordered his flag to be hoisted. At that instant the other fleet, which were French, hoilted their enfigns, and-gave us a broadfide as they passed by. Nothing could create greater furprife and confusion among us than this: the wind was high, the fea rough, and we had our lower and middle deck guns housed in, so that not a single gun on board was ready to be fired at any of the French ships. However, the Royal William and the Somerset, being our sternmost ships, became a little prepared, and each gave the French ships a broadfide as they passed by. I afterwards heard this was a French fqua-E 5

dron, commanded by Monf. Conflans; and certainly had the Frenchmen known our condition, and had a mind to fight us, they might have done us great mischief. were not long before we were prepared for an engagement. Immediately many things were toffed overboard; the ships were made ready for fighting as foon as possible; and about ten at night we had bent a new mainfail, the old one being split. Being now in readiness for fighting, we wore ship, and stood after the French fleet, who were one or two ships in number more than we. However we gave them chase, and continued purfuing them all night; and at day-light we faw fix of them, all large ships of the line, and an English East Indiaman, a prize they had taken. We chased them all day till between three and four o'clock in the evening, when we came up with, and passed within a musquet shot of one seventy-four gun ship, and the Indiaman alfo, who now hoisted her colours, but immediately hauled them down again. On this we made a fignal for the other ships to take possession of her; and, supposing the man of war would likewise strike, we cheered, but she did not; though if we had fired into her, from being fo near, we must have taken her. To my utter furprife,

prife, the Somerfet, who was the next ship a-stern of the Namur, made way likewise; and, thinking they were fure of this French ship, they cheered in the same manner, but still continued to follow us. The French Commodere was about a gun-shot a-head of all, running from us with all speed; and about four o'clock he carried his foretopmast overboard. This caused another loud cheer with us; and a little after the topmast came close by us; but, to our great surprise, instead of coming up with her, we found she went as fast as ever, if not faster. The sea grew now much fmoother; and the wind lulling, the feventy-four gun ship we had passed came again by us in the very same direction, and so near, that we heard her people talk as she went by; yet not a shot was fired on either fide; and about five or fix o'clock, just as it grew dark, she joined her commodore. We chased all night; but the next day we were out of fight, fo that we faw no more of them; and we only had the old Indiaman (called Carnaryon I think) for our trouble. After this we stood in for the channel, and foon made the land; and, about the close of the year 1758-9, we got fafe to St. Helen's. Here the Namur ran aground; and also another large ship a-stern of us; but, by starting our water, and tofsing many things overboard to lighten her, we got the ships off without any damage. We stayed for a short time at Spithead, and then went into Portsmouth harbour to rest: from whence the admiral went to London; and my master and I soon followed, with a press-gang, as we wanted some hands to complete our complement.

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CHAP. IV.

The author is baptized—Narrowly escapes drowning—Goes on an expedition to the Mediterranean—Incidents he met with there—Is witness to an engagement between some English and French ships—A particular account of the selebrated engagement between Admiral Boscawen and Mons. Le Clue, off Cape Logas, in August 1759—Dreadful explosion of a French ship—The author sails for England—His master appointed to the command of a fire-ship—Meets a negro boy from whom he experiences much benevolence—Prepares for

an expedition against Belle-Isle—A remarkable story of a disaster which befel his ship—Arrives at Belle-Isle—Operations of the landing and siege—The author's danger and distress, with his manner of extricating himself—Surrender of Belle-Isle-Transactions afterwards on the coast of France—Remarkable instance of kidnapping—The author returns to England—Hears a talk of peace, and expects his freedom—His ship sails for Deptford to be paid off, and when he arrives there he is suddenly seized by his master and carried forcibly on board a West India ship and sold.

It was now between two and three years fince I first came to England, a great part of which I had spent at sea; so that I became inured to that service, and began to consider myself as happily situated; for my master treated me always extremely well; and my attachment and gratitude to him were very great. From the various scenes I had beheld on ship-board, I soon grew a stranger to terror of every kind, and was, in that respect at least, almost an Englishman. I have often reslected with surprise that I never selt half the alarm at any of the numerous dangers I have been in, that I was silled with at the first sight of the Europeans, and at every

act of theirs, even the most trifling, when I first came among them, and for some time afterwards. That fear, however, which was the effect of my ignorance, wore away as I began to know them. I could now fpeak English tolerably well, and I perfectly understood every thing that was said. I not only felt myself quite easy with these new countrymen, but relished their fociety and manners. I no longer looked upon them as spirits, but as men superior to us; and therefore I had the stronger defire to resemble them: to imbibe their spirit, and imitate their manners; I therefore embraced every occasion of improvement; and every new thing that I observed I treasured up in my memory. I had long wished to be able to read and write; and for this purpose I took every opportunity to gain instruction, but had made as yet very little progress. However, when I went to London with my mafter, I had foon an opportunity of improving myself, which I gladly embraced. Shortly after my arrival, he fent me to wait upon the Miss Guerins. who had treated me with much kindness when I was there before; and they fent me to school.

While I was attending these ladies, their servants told me I could not go to Heaven, unless

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unless I was baptized. This made me very uneafy; for I had now some faint idea of a future state: accordingly I communicated my anxiety to the eldest Miss Guerin, with whom I was become a favourite, and preffed her to have me baptized; when, to my great joy, she told me I should. She had formerly asked my master to let me be baptized, but he had refused; however she now infisted on it; and he being under some obligation to her brother complied with her request; fo I was baptized in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, in February 1759, by my present The clergyman at the fame time, gave me a book, called a Guide to the Indians, written by the Bishop of Sodor and Man. On this occasion, Miss Guerin did me the honour to fland as godmother, and afterwards gave me a treat. I used to attend these ladies about the town, in which service I was extremely happy; as I had thus many opportunities of feeing London, which I defired of all things. I was fometimes, however, with my master at his rendezvoushouse, which was at the foot of Westminster-Here I used to enjoy myself in playing about the bridge stairs, and often in the watermen's wherries, with other boys. On one of these occasions there was another boy with me in a wherry, and we went out into the current of the river: while we were there, two more stout boys came to us in another wherry, and, abusing us for taking the boat, desired me to get into the other wherry-boat. Accordingly I went to get out of the wherry I was in; but just as I had got one of my feet into the other boat, the boys shoved it off, so that I fell into the Thames; and, not being able to swim, I should unavoidably have been drowned, but for the assistance of some watermen who providen-

tially came to my relief.

The Namur being again got ready for sea, my master, with his gang, was ordered on board; and, to my no small grief, I was obliged to leave my school-master, whom I liked very much, and always attended while I stayed in London, to repair on board with my master. Nor did I leave my kind patronesses, the Miss Guerins, without uneasiness and regret. They often used to teach me to read, and took great pains to instruct me in the principles of religion and the knowledge of God. I therefore parted from those amiable ladies with reluctance: after receiving from them many friendly cautions how to conduct myself, and some valuable presents.

When

When I came to Spithead, I found we were destined for the Mediterranean, with a large fleet, which was now ready to put to sea. We only waited for the arrival of the admiral, who soon came on board; and about the beginning of the spring 1759, having weighed anchor and got under way, sailed for the Mediterranean; and in eleven days, from the Land's End, we got to Gibraltar. While we were here I used to be often on shore, and got various fruits in great plenty, and very

chean.

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> I had frequently told feveral people, in my excursions on thore, the story of my being kidnapped with my fifter, and of our being separated, as I have related before; and I had as often expressed my anxiety for her fate, and my forrow at having never met her again. One day, when I was on shore, and mentioning these circumstances to some persons, one of them told me he knew wheremy fifter was, and, if I would accompany him, he would bring me to her. Improbable as this flory was, I believed it immediately, and agreed to go with him, while my heart leaped for joy; and, indeed, he conducted me to a black young woman, who was fo like my fifter, that at first fight I really thought it was her; but I was quickly undeceived; and, on talking

talking to her, I found her to be of another nation.

While we lay here the Preston came in from the Levant. As foon as she arrived, my master told me I should now see my old companion Dick, who was gone in her when she failed for Turkey. I was much rejoiced at this news, and expected every minute to embrace him; and when the captain came on board of our ship, which he did immediately after, I ran to inquire about my friend; but, with inexpressible forrow, I learned from the boat's crew that the dear youth was dead! and that they had brought his cheft, and all his other things, to my master: these he afterwards gave to me, and I regarded them as a memorial of my friend, whom I loved and grieved for as a brother.

While we were at Gibraltar I saw a soldier hanging by the heels, at one of the moles*: I thought this a strange sight, as I had seen a man hanged in London by his neck. At another time I saw the master of a frigate towed to shore on a grating, by several of the men of war's boats, and discharged the sleet, which I understood was a mark of disgrace for cow-

^{*} He had drowned himfelf in endeavouring to defert.

ardice. On board the same ship there was

also a failor hung up at the yard-arm.

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After lying at Gibraltar for some time, we failed up the Mediterranean a confiderable way above the Gulf of Lyons; where we were one night overtaken with a terrible gale of wind, much greater than any I had ever yet experienced. The fea ran fo high that, though all the guns were well housed, there was great reason to fear their getting loose, the ship rolled fo much; and if they had it must have proved our destruction. After we had cruifed here for a short time, we came to Barcelona, a Spanish sea-port, remarkable for its filk manufactures. Here the ships were all to be watered; and my master, who spoke different languages, and used often to interpret for the admiral, superintended the watering of ours. For that purpose he and the officers of the other ships, who were on the same fervice, had tents pitched in the bay; and the Spanish foldiers were stationed along the shore, I suppose to see that no depredations were committed by our men.

I used constantly to attend my master, and I was charmed with this place. All the time we stayed it was like a fair with the natives, who brought us fruits of all kinds, and sold them to us much cheaper than I got them in

England.

England. They used also to bring wine down to us in hog and sheep skins, which diverted me very much. The Spanish officers here treated our officers with great politeness and attention; and some of them, in particular, used to come often to my master's tent to visit him; where they would sometimes divert themselves by mounting me on the horses or mules, fo that I could not fall, and fetting them off at full gallop; my imperfect skill in horsemanship all the while affording them no small entertainment. After the ships were watered, we returned to our old station of cruizing off Toulon, for the purpose of intercepting a fleet of French men of war that lay there. One Sunday, in our cruize, we came off a place where there were two small French frigates lying in shore; and our admiral, thinking to take or destroy them, sent two ships in after them—the Culloden and the Conqueror. They foon came up to the Frenchmen; and I faw a smart fight here, both by sea and land: for the frigates were covered by batteries, and they played upon our ships most furiously, which they as furiously returned, and for a long time a constant firing was kept up on all fides at an amazing rate. At last one frigate funk; but the people escaped, though not without much difficulty: and a little after some of the people left the other frigate also, which was a mere wreck. However, our ships did not venture to bring her away, they were so much annoyed from the batteries, which raked them both in going and coming: their top-masts were shot away, and they were otherwise so much shattered, that the admiral was obliged to send in many boats to tow them back to the sleet. I afterwards sailed with a man who sought in one of the French batteries during the engagement, and he told me our ships had done considerable mischief that

day on shore and in the batteries.

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After this we failed for Gibraltar, and arrived there about August 1759. remained with all our fails unbent, while the fleet was watering and doing other necessary things. While we were in this fituation, one day the admiral, with most of the principal officers, and many people of all stations, being on shore, about feven o'clock in the evening we were alarmed by fignals from the frigates stationed for that purpose; and in an instant there was a general cry that the French fleet was out, and just passing through the streights. The admiral immediately came on board with some other officers; and it is impossible to describe the noise, hurry, and confusion, through the whole fleet, in bending their their fails and flipping their cables; many people and ships' boats were left on shore in the bustle. We had two captains on board of our ship, who came away in the hurry and left their ships to follow. We shewed lights from the gun wales to the main-top-masthead; and all our lieutenants were employed amongst the fleet to tell the ships not to wait for their captains, but to put the fails to the yards, flip their cables, and follow us; and in this confusion of making ready for fighting, we fet out for fea in the dark after the French fleet. Here I could have exclaimed with Ajax,

> " Oh Jove! O father! if it be thy will "That we must pe ish, we thy will obey, " But let us perish by the light of day."

They had got the start of us so far that we were not able to come up with them during the night; but at day-light we faw feven fail of the line of battle some miles a head. We immediately chased them till about four o'clock in the evening, when our ships came up with them; and, though we were about fifteen large ships, our gallant admiral only fought them with his own division, which confisted of feven: so that we were just ship for ship. We passed by the whole of the enemy's fleet in

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in order to come at their commander, Mons. La Clue, who was in the Ocean, an eightyfour gun ship: as we passed they all fired on
us; and at one time three of them fired together, continuing to do so for some time Notwithstanding which our admiral would not
suffer a gun to be fired at any of them, to my
astonishment; but made us lie on our bellies on
the deck till we came quite close to the Ocean,
who was a-head of them all; when we had orders to pour the whole three tiers into her at
once.

The engagement now commenced with great fury on both fides; the Ocean immediately returned our fire, and we continued engaged with each other for some time; during which I was frequently stunned with the thundering of the great guns, whose dreadful contents hurried many of my companions into awful eternity. At last the French line was entirely broken, and we obtained the victory, which was immediately proclaimed with loud huzzas and acclamations. We took three prizes, La Modeste, of fixty-four guns, and Le Temeraire and Centaur, of seventy-four guns each. The rest of the French ships took to flight with all the fail they could crowd. Our ships being very much damaged, and quite disabled from pursuing the enemy, the admiral

miral immediately quitted her, and went in the broken and only boat we had left on board the Newark, with which, and fome other ships, he went after the French. The Ocean, and another large French ship called the Redoubtable, endeavouring to escape, ran ashore at Cape Logas, on the coast of Portugal; and the French admiral and fome of the crew got ashore; but we, finding it impossible to get the ships off, fet fire to them both. About midnight I faw the Ocean blow up, with a most dreadful explosion. I never beheld a more awful scene. About the space of a minute, the midnight feemed turned into day by the blaze, which was attended with a noise louder and more terrible than thunder, that feemed to rend every element around us.

My station during the engagement was on the middle-deck, where I was quartered with another boy, to bring powder to the aftermost gun; and here I was a witness of the dreadful fate of many of my companions, who, in the twinkling of an eye, were dashed in pieces, and launched into eternity. Happily I escaped unburt, though the shot and splinters slewthick about me during the whole fight. Towards the latter part of it my master was wounded, and I saw him carried down t in

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to the furgeon; but though I was much alarmed for him and wished to assist him, I dared not leave my post. At this station my gun-mate (a partner in bringing powder for the same gun) and I ran a very great risk for more than half an hour of blowing up the ship. For, when we had taken the cartridges out of the boxes, the bottoms of many of them proving rotten, the powder ran all about the deck, near the match tub: we scarcely had water enough at the last to throw on it. We were also from our employment very much exposed to the enemy's shots; for we had to go through nearly the whole length of the ship to bring the powder. I expected therefore every minute to be my last; especially when I faw our men fall so thick about me; but, wishing to guard as much against the dangers as possible, at first I thought it would be safest not to go for the powder till the Frenchmen had fired their broadfide; and then, while they were charging I could go and come with my powder: but immediately afterwards I thought this caution was fruitless; and, cheering myself with the reflection that there was a time allotted for me to die as well as to be born, I instantly cast off all fear or thought whatever of death, and went through the whole of my duty with alacrity; pleafing

myself with the hope, if I survived the battle, of relating it and the dangers I had escaped to the Miss Guerins, and others, when I should return to London.

Our ship suffered very much in this engagement; for, belides the number of our killed and wounded, the was almost torn to pieces, and our rigging fo much shattered, that our mizen-mast, main-yard, &c. hung over the fide of the ship; so that we were obliged to get many carpenters and others from some of the ships of the fleet, to assist in fetting us in some tolerable order; and, notwithflanding which it took us fome time before we were completely refitted; after which we left Admiral Broderick to command, and we, with the prizes, steered for England. On the passage, and as soon as my master was fomething recovered of his wounds, the admiral appointed him captain of the Ætna fire thip, on which he and I left the Namur, and went on board of her at sea. I liked this little ship very much. I now became the captain's fleward, in which fituation I was very happy: for I was extremely well treated by all on board; and I had leifure to improve myself in reading and writing. The latter I had learned a little of before I had left the Namur, as there was a school on board. When we arrived at Spithead, the Ætna went into Portsmouth harbour to resit, which being done, we returned to Spithead and joined a large fleet that was thought to be intended against the Havannah; but about that time the king died; whether that prevented the expedition I know not; but it caused our ship to be stationed at Cowes, in the isle of Wight, till the beginning of the year sixty-one. Here I spent my time very pleasantly; I was much on shore all about this delightful island, and

found the inhabitants very civil.

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While I was here I met with a trifling incident, which furprised me agreeably. I was one day in a field belonging to a gentleman who had a black boy about my own fize; this boy having observed me from his master's house, was transported at the light of one of his own countrymen, and ran to meet me with the utmost haste. I not knowing what he was about, turned a little out of his way at first. but to no purpose: he soon came close to me. and caught hold of me in his arms as if I had been his brother, though we had never feen each other before. After we had talked together for some time he took me to his master's house, where I was treated very kindly. This benevolent boy and I were very happy in frequently feeing each other till about the F 2 month month of March 1761, when our ship had orders to fit out again for another expedition. When we got ready we joined a very large fleet at Spithead, commanded by Commodore Keppel, which was destined against Belle-isle, and with a number of transport ships with troops on board to make a descent on the place, we sailed once more in quest of same. I longed to engage in new adventures and see fresh wonders.

I had a mind on which every thing uncommon made its full impression, and every event which I considered as marvellous. Every extraordinary escape, or signal deliverance, either of myself or others, I looked upon to be effected by the interposition of Providence. We had not been above ten days at sea before an incident of this kind happened; which, whatever credit it may obtain from the reader, made no small impression on my mind.

We had on board a gunner, whose name was John Mondle, a man of very indifferent morals. This man's cabin was between the decks, exactly over where I lay, abreast of the quarter-deck ladder. One night, the 5th of April, being terrified with a dream, he awoke in so great a fright that he could not rest in his bed any longer, nor even remain in his cabin; and he went upon deck about

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four o'clock in the morning extremely agitated. He immediately told those on the deck of the agonies of his mind, and the dream which occasioned it; in which he faid he had feen many things very awful, and had been warned by St. Peter to repent, who told him time was short. This he said had greatly alarmed him, and he was determined to alter his life. People generally mock the fears of others when they are themselves in safety; and some of his shipmates who heard him only laughed at him. However, he made a vow. that he never would drink ffrong liquors again; and he immediately got a light, and gave away his sea-stores of liquor. After which his agitation still continuing, he began to read the Scriptures, hoping to find some relief; and foon afterwards he laid himself down again on his bed, and endeavoured to compose himself to sleep, but to no purpose; his mind still continuing in a state of agony. By this time it was exactly half after feven in the morning: I was then under the half-deck at the great cabin door; and all at once I heard the people in the waist cry out, most fearfully— The Lord have mercy upon us! "We are all loft! The Lord have mercy upon us!' Mr. Mondle hearing the cries, immediately ran out of his cabin; and we 3

were instantly struck by the Lynne, a fortygun ship, Captain Clark, which nearly ran us down. This ship had just put about, and was by the wind, but had not got full headway, or we must all have perished; for the wind was brisk. However, before Mr. Mondle had got four steps from his cabin door, the struck our thip with her cutwater right in the middle of his bed and cabin, and ran it up to the combings of the quarter deck hatchway, and above three feet below water, and in a minute there was not a bit of wood to be feen where Mr. Mondle's cabin stood: and he was so near being killed that some of the splinters tore his face. As Mr. Mondle must inevitably have perished from this accident had he not been alarmed in the very extraordinary way I have related, I could not help regarding this as an awful interpolition of Providence for his preservation. The two ships for some time swinged alongside of each other; for ours being a fireship, our grappling-irons caught the Lynne every way, and the yards and rigging went at an aftonishing rate. Our ship was in such a shocking condition that we all thought she would instantly go down, and every one ran for their lives, and got as well as they could on board the Lynne; but our lieutenant being ty-

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the aggressor, he never quitted the ship. However, when we found the did not fink immediately, the captain came on board again, and encouraged our people to return and try to fave her. Many of them came back, but some would not venture. Some of the ships in the fleet, seeing our situation, immediately fent their boats to our affistance; but it took us the whole day to fave the ship with all their help. And by uting every polfible means, particularly frapping her together with many hawfers, and putting a great quantity of tallow below water where she was damaged, the was kept together: but it was well we did not meet with any gales of wind, or we must have gone to pieces; for we were in such a crazy condition that we had ships to attend us till we arrived at Belle-Ifle, the place of our destination; and then we had all things taken out of the ship, and the was properly repaired. This escape of Mr. Mondle, which he, as well as myself, always confidered as a fingular act of Providence, I believe had a great influence on his life and conduct ever afterwards.

Now that I am on this subject I beg leave to relate another instance or two which strongly raised my belief of the particular interposition of Heaven, and which might

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not otherwise have found a place here, from their infignificance. I belonged for a few days in the year 1758, to the Jason, of fiftyfour guns, at Plymouth; and one night when I was on board, a woman, with a child at her breaft, fell from the upper-deck down into the hold, near the keel. Every one thought that the mother and child must be both dashed to pieces; but, to our great surprife, neither of them was hurt. I myfelf one day fell headlong from the upper-deck of the Ætna down the after-hold, when the ballast was out; and all who saw me fall cried out I was killed: but I received not the least injury. And in the same ship a man fell from the mast-head on the deck without being hurt. In these, and in many more instances, I thought I could plainly trace the hand of God, without whose permission a sparrow cannot fall. I began to raise my fear from man to him alone, and to call daily on his holy name with fear and reverence: and I truft he heard my supplications, and graciously condescended to answer me according to his holy word, and to implant the feeds of piety in me, even one of the meanest of his creatures.

When we had refitted our ship, and all things were in readiness for attacking the place, W

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place, the troops on board the transports were ordered to disembark; and my master, as a junior captain, had a share in the command of the landing. This was on the 12th of April. The French were drawn up on the shore, and had made every disposition to oppose the landing of our men, only a small part of them this day being able to effect it; most of them, after fighting with great bravery, were cut off; and General Crawford, with a number of others, were taken prisoners. In this day's engagement we had also our lieutenant killed.

On the 21st of April we renewed our efforts to land the men, while all the men of war were flationed along the fliore to cover it, and fired at the French batteries and breaftworks from early in the morning till about four o'clock in the evening, when our foldiers effected a fafe landing. They immediately attacked the French; and, after a fharp encounter, forced them from the batteries. Before the enemy retreated they blew up feveral of them, left they should fall into our hands. Our men now proceeded to beliege the citadel, and my master was ordered on shore to superintend the landing of all the materials necessary for carrying on the fiege; in which service I mostly attended him.

him. While I was there I went about to different parts of the island; and one day, particularly, my curiofity almost cost me my life. I wanted very much to see the mode of charging the mortars and letting off the shells, and for that purpole I went to an English battery that was but very few yards from the walls of the citadel. There, indeed, I had an opportunity of completely gratifying myfelf in seeing the whole operation, and that not without running a very great risk, both from the English shells that burst while I was there, but likewise from those of the French. One of the largest of their shells bursted within nine or ten yards of me: there was a fingle rock close by, about the fize of a butt : and I got instant shelter under it in time to avoid the fury of the shell. Where it burst the earth was torn in fuch a manner that two or three butts might easily have gone into the hole it made, and it threw great quantities of stones and dirt to a considerable distance. Three shots were also fired at me and another boy who was along with me, one of them in particular feemed out in the standard of the

"Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage;"

for with a most dreadful sound it hissed close by ar-

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by me, and struck a rock at a little distance, which it shattered to pieces. When I saw what perilous circumstances I was in, I attempted to return the nearest way I could find, and thereby I got between the English and the French centinels. An English ferjeant who commanded the outposts, seeing me, and surprised how I came there, (which was by stealth along the seashore), reprimanded me very severely for it, and instantly took the centinel off his post into custody, for his negligence in suffering me to pass the lines. While I was in this fituation I obferved at a little distance a French horse, belonging to some islanders, which I thought I would now mount, for the greater expedition of getting off. Accordingly I took some cord which I had about me, and making a kind of bridle of it, I put it round the horse's head, and the tame beaft very quietly fuffered me to tie him thus and mount him: As foon as I was on the horse's back I began to kick and beat him, and try every means to make him go quick, but all to very little purpose: I could not drive him out of a flow pace. While I was creeping along, still within reach of the enemy's shot, I'met with a servant well mounted on an English horse, I immediately stopped; and, crying, told

him my case; and begged of him to help me, and this he effectually did; for, having a fine large whip, he began to lash my horse with it so severely, that he set off full speed with me towards the sea, while I was quite unable to hold or manage him. In this manner I went along till I came to a craggy precipice. I now could not stop my horse; and my mind was filled with apprehensions of my deplorable fate should he go down the precipice, which he appeared fully disposed to do: I therefore thought I had better throw myfelf off him at once, which I did immediately with a great deal of dexterity, and fortunately escaped unhurt. As soon as I found myself at liberty I made the best of my way for the ship, determined I would not be so fool-hardy again in a hurry.

We continued to beliege the citadel till June, when it surrendered. During the siege I have counted above sixty shells and carcases in the air at once. When this place was taken I went through the citadel, and in the bomb-proofs under it, which were cut in the folid rock; and I thought it a surprising place, both for strength and building; notwithstanding which our shots and shells had made amazing devastation, and ruinous heaps

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After the taking of this island, our ships with fome others commanded by commodore Stanhope in the Swiftfure, went to Baffe-road, where we blocked up a French fleet. Our ships were there from June till Pebruary following; and in that time I faw a great many fcenes of war, and ftratagems on both fides to destroy each other's fleet. Sometimes we would attack the French with fome ships of the line; at other times with boats; and frequently we made prizes. Once or twice the French attacked us by throwing shells with their bomb-veffels; and one day as a French vessel was throwing shells at our ships she broke from her springs, behind the isle of I de Re: the tide being complicated, she came within a gun shot of the Nassau; but the Nassau could not bring a gun to bear upon her, and thereby the Frenchman got off. We were twice attacked by their fire-floats. which they chained together, and then let them float down with the tide; but each time we fent boats with grapplings, and towed them fafe out of the fleet.

We had different commanders while we were at this place: Commodores Stanhope, Dennis, Lord Howe, &c. From hence, before the Spanish war began, our ship and the Wasp stoop were sent to St. Sebastian in Spain,

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by Commodore Stanhope; and Commodore Dennis afterwards sent our ship as a cartel to Bayonne in France*, after which † we went in February in 1762, to Belle-Isle, and there stayed till the summer, then we left it, and returned to Portsmouth.

After our ship was sitted out again for service, in September she went to Guernsey, where I was very glad to see my old hostess, who was now a widow, and my former little charming companion, her daughter. I spent some time here very happily with them, till

* Among others whom we brought from Bayonne, were two gentlemen, who had been in the West Indies, where they fold slaves; and they confessed they had made at one time a salse bill of sale, and sold two Portuguese white men among a lot of slaves.

† Some people have it, that sometimes shortly before persons die, their ward has been seen; that is, some spirit exactly in their likeness, though they are themselves at other places at the same time. One day while we were at Bayonne, Mr. Mondle saw one of our men, as he thought, in the gun-room; and a little after, coming on the quarter-deck, he spoke of the circumstances of this man to some of the officers. They told him that the man was then out of the ship, in one of the boats with the Lieutenant: but Mr. Mondle would not believe it, and we searched the ship, when he sound the man was actually out of her: and when the boat returned some time afterwards, we sound the man had been drowned at the very time Mr. Mondle thought he saw him.

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October, when we had orders to repair to Portsmouth. We parted from each other with a great deal of affection; and I promised to return soon, and see them again; not knowing what all-powerful fate had determined for me. Our ship having arrived at Portsmouth, we went into the harbour, and remained there till the latter end of November, when we heard great talk about a peace; and, to our very great joy, in the beginning of December we had orders to go up to London with our ship to be paid off. We received this news with loud huzzas, and every other demonstration of gladness; and nothing but mirth was to be feen throughout every part of the ship. I too was not without my share of the general joy on this occafion. I thought now of nothing but being freed, and working for myself, and thereby getting money to enable me to get a good education; for I always had a great defire to be able at least to read and write; and while I was on ship-board I had endeavoured to improve myself in both. While I was in the Ætna particularly, the captain's clerk taught me to write, and gave me a fmattering of arithmetic as far as the rule of three. There was also one Daniel Queen, about forty years of age, a man very well educated, who meffed with

with me on board this ship, and he likewise dressed and attended the captain. Fortunately this man foon became very much attached to me, and took very great pains to instruct me in many things. He taught me to shave and dress hair a little, and also to read in the bible, explaining many passages to me. which I did not comprehend. I was wonderfully furprifed to fee the laws and rules of my own country written almost exactly here; a circumstance which I believe tended to impress our manners and customs more deeply on my memory. I used to tell him of this refemblance; and many a time we have fat up the whole night together at this employment. In short, he was like a father to me: and some even used to call me after his name: they also styled me the black Christian. Indeed I almost loved him with the affection of a fon. Many things I have denied myself that he might have them; and when I used to play at marbles or any other game, and won a few halfpence, or got any little money, which I fornetimes did, for shaving any one, I used to buy him a little sugar or tobacco, as far as my stock of money would go. He ufed to fay, that he and I never should part; and that when our ship was paid off, as I was as free as himself or any other man on board. HIV he

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he would instruct me in his business, by which I might gain a good livelihood. This gave me new life and spirits; and my heart burned within me, while I thought the time long till I obtained my freedom: for though my mafter had not promised it to me, yet, besides the affurances I had received that he had no right to detain me, he always treated me with the greatest kindness, and reposed in me an unbounded confidence; he even paid attention to my morals; and would never fuffer me to deceive him, or tell lies, of which he used to tell me the confequences; and that if I did for God would not love me; fo that from all this tenderness I had never once supposed, in all my dreams of freedom, that he would think of detaining me any longer than I wished.

In pursuance of our orders we sailed from Portsmouth for the Thames, and arrived at Deptsford the 10th of December, where we cast anchor just as it was high water. The ship was up about half an hour, when my master ordered the barge to be manned; and all in an instant, without having before given me the least reason to suspect any thing of the matter, he forced me into the barge, saying, I was going to leave him, but he would take care I should not. I was so struck with the unexpectedness of this proceeding, that for

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fome time I did not make a reply, only I made an offer to go for my books and cheft of clothes, but he fwore I should not move out of his fight; and if I did he would cut my throat, at the same time taking his hanger. I began, however, to collect myself; and, plucking up courage, I told him I was free, and he could not by law ferve me fo. But this only enraged him the more, and he continued to swear, and faid he would soon let me know whether he would or not, and at that instant sprung himself into the barge from: the ship, to the aftonishment and sorrow of all on board. The tide, rather unluckily for me, had just turned downward, so that we quickly fell down the river along with it, till we came among some outward-bound West Indiamen; for he was resolved to put me on board the first vessel he could get to receive The boat's crew, who pulled against their will, became quite faint at different times, and would have gone ashore; but he would not let them. Some of them strove then to cheer me, and told me he could not fell me, and that they would stand by me, which revived me a little, and I still entertained hopes; for as they pulled along he asked some vessels to receive me, and they would not. But. just as we had got a little below Gravefend, we

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we came alongfide of a ship which was going. away the next tide for the West Indies; her name was the Charming Sally, Capt. James Doran; and my master went on board and agreed with him for me; and in a little time I was fent for into the cabin. When I came there Captain Doran asked me if I knew him; I answered that I did not; 'Then,' said he, you are now my flave.' I told him my. mafter could not fell me to him, nor to any 'Why,' faid he, 'did not your one else. master buy you & I confessed he did. But 'I have ferved him,' faid I, 'many years, and he has taken all my wages and prizemoney, for I only got one fixpence during the war; besides this I have been baptized; and by the laws of the land no man has a right to fell me:' And I added, that I had heard a lawyer and others at different times tell my mafter so. They both then said that those people who told me so were not my friends; but I replied- It was very extraordinary that other people did not know the 'law as well as they.' Upon this Captain Doran faid I talked too much English; and if I did not behave myfelf well, and be quiet, he had a method on board to make me. was too well convinced of his power over me to doubt what he faid; and my former fufferings in the flave-ship presenting themselves to my mind, the recollection of them made me shudder. However, before I retired I told them that as I could not get any right among men here I hoped I should hereafter in Heaven; and I immediately left the cabin. filled with refentment and forrow. The only coat I had with me my master took away with him, and faid, 'If your prize-money had been 10,000l. I had a right to it all, and would have taken it.' I had about nine guineas, which, during my long fea-faring life, I had scraped together from trifling perquilites and little ventures; and I hid it that instant, lest my master should take that from me likewise, still hoping that by some means or other I should make my escape to the shore; and indeed some of my old shipmates told me not to defpair, for they would get me back again; and that, as foon as they could get their pay, they would immediately come to Portsmouth to me, where this ship was going: but, alas! all my hopes were baffled, and the hour of my deliverance was as yet far off. My master, having soon concluded his bargain with the captain, came out of the cabin, and he and his people got into the boat and put off; I followed them with aching eyes as long as I could, and when they were out of fight I threw myfelf on the deck, with a heart ready to burst with sorrow and anguish.

CHAP. V.

The author's reflections on his situation—Is decived by a promise of being delivered—His despair at sailing for the West Indies—Arrives at Montserrat, where he is sold to Mr. King—Various interesting instances of oppression, cruelty, and extortion, which the author saw practised upon the slaves in the West Indies during his captivity from the year 1763 to 1766—Address on it to the planters.

Thus, at the moment I expected all my toils to end, was I plunged, as I supposed, in a new slavery; in comparison of which all my service hitherto had been perfect freedom; and whose horrors, always present to my mind, now rushed on it with tenfold aggravation. I wept very bitterly for some time: and began to think that I must have done

done fomething to displease the Lord, that he thus punished me so severely. This filled me with painful reflections on my past conduct; I recollected that on the morning of our arrival at Deptford I had rashly sworn that as foon as we reached London I would fpend the day in rambling and sport. My conscience fmote me for this unguarded expression: I felt that the Lord was able to disappoint me in all things, and immediately confidered my present situation as a judgment of Heaven on account of my prefumption in swearing; I therefore, with contrition of heart, acknowledged my transgression to God, and poured out my foul before him with unfeigned repentance, and with earnest supplications I befought him not to abandon me in my diffress, nor cast me from his mercy for ever. In a little time my grief, spent with its own violence, began to subside; and after the first confusion of my thoughts was over I reflected with more calmness on my present condition: I confidered that trials and disappointments are sometimes for our good, and I thought God might perhaps have permitted this in order to teach me wisdom and refignation; for he had hitherto shadowed me with the wings of his mercy, and by his invisible but powerful hand brought me the way I knew not

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fort, and I rose at last from the deck with dejection and forrow in my countenance, yet mixed with some faint hope that the Lord

would appear for my deliverance.

Soon afterwards, as my new mafter was going on shore, he called me to him, and told me to behave myself well, and do the business of the ship the same as any of the rest of the boys, and that I should fare the better for it; but I made him no answer. I was then asked if I could swim, and I said, No. However I was made to go under the deck, and was well watched. The next tide the ship got under way, and soon after arrived at the Mother Bank, Portsmouth; where she waited a few days for fome of the West India convoy. While I was here I tried every means I could devife amongst the people of the ship to get me a boat from the shore, as there was none fuffered to come alonglide of the ship; and their own, whenever it was used, was hoisted in again immediately. A failor on boardtook a guinea from me on pretence of getting me a boat; and promifed me, time after time, that it was hourly to come off. When he had the watch upon deck I watched also: and looked long enough, but all in vain; I could never fee either the boat or my guinea again.

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again. And what I thought was still the worst of all, the fellow gave information, as I afterwards found, all the while to the mates, of my intention to go off, if I could in any way do it; but, rogue like, he never told them he had got a guinea from me to procure my escape. However, after we had failed, and his trick was made known to the ship's crew, I had some satisfaction in seeing him detefted and despised by them all for his behaviour to me. I was still in hopes that my old shipmates would not forget their promise to come for me to Portsmouth: and, indeed, at last, but not till the day before we failed, some of them did come there, and fent me off some oranges, and other tokens of their regard. They also fent me word they would come off to me themselves the next day or the day after; and a lady also, who lived in Gosport, wrote to me that she would come and take me out of the ship at the same time. This lady had been once very intimate with my former master: I used to sell and take care of a great deal of property for her, in different ships; and in return she always shewed great friendship for me, and used to tell my master that the would take me away to live with her: but, unfortunately for me, a disagreement foon afterwards took place between them; and and she was succeeded in my master's good graces by another lady, who appeared sole mistress of the Ætna, and mostly lodged on board. I was not so great a favourite with this lady as with the sormer; she had conceived a pique against me on some occasion when she was on board, and she did not fail to instigate my master to treat me in the manner he did.

However, the next morning, the 30th of December, the wind being brisk and eatherly, the Æolus frigate, which was to effort the convoy, made a figural for failing. All the ships then got up their anchors; and, before any of my friends had an opportunity to come off to my relief, to my inexpressible anguish our ship had got under way. What tumultuous emotions agitated my soul when the convoy got under sail, and I a prisoner on board, now without hope! I kept my swimming eyes upon the land in a state of unutterable grief; not

knowing

^{*} Thus was I facrificed to the envy and refentment of this woman for knowing that the lady whom she had succeeded in my master's good graces, designed to take me into her service; which, had I once got on shore, she would not have been able to prevent. She selt her pride alarmed at the superiority of her rival; in being attended by a black servant; it was not less to prevent this than to be revenged on me, that she caused the captain to treat me thus cruelly.

knowing what to do, and despairing how to help myself. While my mind was in this situation the sleet sailed on, and in one day's time I lost sight of the wished for land. In the first expressions of my grief I reproached my sate, and wished I had never been born. I was ready to curse the tide that bore us, the gale that wasted my prison, and even the ship that conducted us; and I called on death to relieve me from the horrors I selt and dreaded, that I might be in that place

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"Where flaves are free, and men oppress no more.

" Fool that I was, inur'd fo long to pain,

"To trust to hope, or dream of joy again.

" Now dragg'd once more beyond the western main,

"To grean beneath fome dafterd planter's chain;
"Where my poor countrymen in bondage wait

"The long enfranchisement of a ling'ring fate;
"Hard ling'ring fate! while, ere the dawn of day,

"Rous'd by the lash they go their cheerless way;

" And as their foul with fhame and anguish burn,

" Salute with greans unwelcome morn's return,

" And chiding ev'ry hour the flow pac'd fun,

" Pursue their toils 'till all his race is run.

" No eye to mark their suffrings with a tear;

" No friend to comfort, and no hope to cheer;

"Then like the dull unpity'd bruies, repair

" To stalls as wretched, and as coarse a fare;

"Thank heav'n one day of mis'ry was o'er,

Then fink to fleep, and wish to wake no more.*"

^{* &}quot;The Dying Negro," a poem originally published in 1773. Perhaps it may not be deemed impertinent here to add, that this elegant

The turbulence of my emotions, however, naturally gave way to calmer thoughts, and I foon perceived what fate had decreed no mortal on earth could prevent. The convoy failed on without any accident, with a pleasant gale and smooth sea, for six weeks, till February, when one morning the Æolus ran down a brig, one of the convoy, and she instantly went down and was ingulfed in the dark recesses of the ocean. The convoy was immediately thrown into great confusion till it was day-light; and the Æolus was illumined with lights to prevent any farther mischief. On the 13th of February 1763, from the mast head, we descried our destined island Montserrat: and soon after I beheld those

"Regions of forrow, doleful shades, where peace

"And reft can rarely dwell. Hope never comes

That comes to all, but torture without end

"Still urges."

At the fight of this land of bondage, a fresh horror ran through all my frame, and chilled me to the heart. My former slavery now rose in dreadful review to my mind, and displayed

elegant and pathetic little poem was occasioned, as appears by the advertisement prefixed to it, by the following incident. "A black who, a few day, before, had ran away from his master, and got himself christened, with intent to marry a white woman, his fellow-fervant, being taken and sent on board a ship in the Thames, took an opportunity of shooting himself through the head."

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nothing but misery, stripes and chains; and in the first paroxysm of my grief, I called upon God's thunder, and his avenging power, to direct the stroke of death to me, rather than permit me to become a slave, and be sold from lord to lord.

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In this state of my mind our ship came to an anchor, and soon after discharged her cargo. I now knew what it was to work hard; I was made to help to unload and load the ship. And, to comfort me in my distress in that time, two of the sailors robbed me of all my money, and ran away from the ship. I had been so long used to an European climate, that at first I selt the scorching West India sun very painful, while the dashing surf would toss the boat and the people in it frequently above high water mark. Sometimes our limbs were broken with this, or even attended with instant death, and I was day by day mangled and torn.

About the middle of May, when the ship was got ready to sail for England, I all the time believing that Fate's blackest clouds were gathering over my head, and expecting their bursting would mix me with the dead, Captain Doran sent for me ashore one morning, and I was told by the messenger that my sate was then determined. With trembling steps and fluttering

fluttering heart I came to the Captain, and found with him one Mr. Robert King, a quaker, and the first merchant in the place. The Captain then told me my former master had fent me there to be fold; but that he had defired him to get me the best master he could, as he told him I was a very deferving boy, which Captain Doran faid he found to be true, and if he were to stay in the West Indies he would be glad to keep me himself; but he could not venture to take me to London, for he was very fure that when I came there I would leave him. I at that instant burst out a crying, and begged much of him to take me to England with him, but all to no purpose. He told me he had got me the very best master in the whole island, with whom I should be as happy as if I were in England, and for that reason he chose to let him have me, though he could fell me to his own brother-in-law for a great deal more money than what he got from this gentleman. Mr. King, my new mafter, then made a reply, and faid the reason he had bought me was on account of my good character; and as he had not the least doubt of my good behaviour, I should be very well off with him. He also told me he did not live in the Well Indies, but at Philadelphia, where he was going foon; and, as I understood fome-G 3 thing

thing of the rules of arithmetic, when we got there he would put me to school, and fit me for a clerk. This conversation relieved my mind a little, and I left those gentlemen confiderably more at ease in myself than when I came to them; and I was very thankful to Captain Doran, and even to my old master, for the character they had given me; a character which I afterwards found of infinite fervice to me. I went on board again, and took leave of all my ship-mates; and the next day the ship failed. When she weighed anchor I went to the waterfide and looked at her with a very wishful and aching heart, and followed her with my eyes until she was totally out of fight. I was so bowed down with grief that I could not hold up my head for many months; and if my new master had not been kind to me, I believe I should have died under it at last. And indeed I soon found that he fully deserved the good character which Captain Doran had given me of him; for he poffessed a most amiable disposition and temper, and was very charitable and humane. If any of his flaves behaved amifs he did not beat or use them ill, but parted with them. This made them afraid of disobliging him; and as he treated his flaves better than any other man on the illand, so he was better and more faithfully

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fully served by them in return. By this kind treatment I did at last endeavour to compose myfelf; and with fortitude, though moneylefs, determined to face whatever fate had decreed for me. Mr. King foon asked me what I could do; and at the fame time faid he did not mean to treat me as a common stave. I told him I knew fomething of feamanship, and could shave and dress hair pretty well; and I could refine wines, which I had learned on shipboard where I had often done it; and that I could write, and understood arithmetic tolerably well as far as the Rule of Three. He then asked me if I knew any thing of gauging; and, on my answering that I did not, he faid one of his clerks should teach me to gauge.

Mr. King dealt in all manner of merchandize, and kept from one to fix clerks. He loaded many vessels in a year; particularly to Philadelphia, where he was born, and was connected with a great mercantile house in that city. He had besides many vessels and doggers of different sizes, which used to go about the island; and others to collect rum, sugar, and other goods. I understood pulling and managing those boats very well; and this hard work which was the first that he set me to, in the sugar seasons used to be my constant employment. I have rowed the boat, and Ga slaved

flaved at the oars, from one hour to fixteen in the twenty-four; during which I had fifteen pence serling per day to live on, though fometimes only ten pence. However this was confiderably more than was allowed to other flaves that used to work often with me, and belonged to other gentlemen on the illand; those poor fouls had never more than ninepence a day, and feldom more than fixpence, from their masters or owners, though they earned them three or four pisterines: * for it is a common practice in the West Indies for men to purchase slaves, though they have not -plantations themselves, in order to let them out to planters and merchants at fo much a piece by the day, and they give what allowance they choose out of this produce of their daily work to their flaves for subfistence; this allowance is often very scanty. My master often gave the owners of these slaves two and a half of these pieces per day, and found the poor fellows in victuals himself, because he thought their owners did not feed them well enough according to the work they did. The flaves used to like this very well, and, as they knew my master to be a man of feeting, they were always glad to work for him in preference to

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These pitterines are of the value of a Shilling.

any other gentleman; fome of whom, after they had been paid for these poor people's labours, would not give them their allowance out of it. Many times have I feen these unfortunate wretches beaten for asking for their pay; and often severely flogged by their owners if they did not bring them their daily or weekly money exactly to the time; though the poor creatures were obliged to wait on the gentlemen they had worked for fometimes more than half the day before they could get their pay; and this generally on Sundays, when they wanted the time for themselves. In particular, I knew a countryman of mine who once did not bring the weekly money directly that it was earned; and though he brought it the fame day to his matter, yet he was staked to the ground for his pretended negligence, and was just going to receive a hundred lashes, but for a gentleman who begged him off fifty. This poor man was very industrious, and by his frugality had faved. fo much money, by working on shipboard, that he had got a white man to buy him a boat, unknown to his master. Some time after he had this little estate, the governor wanted a boat to bring his fugar from different parts of the island; and, knowing this to be a negroman's boat, he feized upon it for himself, and would not pay the owner a farthing. The man G 5

on this went to his master, and complained to him of this act of the governor; but the only fatisfaction he received was to be damned very heartily by his master, who asked him how dared any of his negroes to have a boat. the justly-merited ruin of the governor's fortune could be any gratification to the poor man he had thus robbed, he was not without confolation. Extortion and rapine are poor providers; and some time after this the governor died in the King's Bench in England, as I was told, in great poverty. The last war favoured this poor negro-man, and he found some means to escape from his Christian master: He came to England, where I faw him afterwards feveral times. Such treatment as this often drives these miserable wretches to despair, and they run away from their masters at the hazard of their lives. Many of them, in this place, unable to get their pay when they have earned it, and fearing to be flogged, as usual, if they return home without it, run away where they can for shelter, and a reward is often offered to bring them in dead or alive. My mafter used sometimes, in these cases, to agree with their owners, and to fettle with them himself; and thereby he faved many of them a flogging.

Once, for a few days, I was let out to fit a vessel,

a vessel, and I had no victuals allowed me by either party; at last I told my master of this treatment, and he took me away from it. In many of the estates, on the different islands where I used to be fent for rum or sugar, they would not deliver it to me, or any other negro; he was therefore obliged to fend a white man along with me to those places, and then he used to pay him from fix to ten pisterines a day. From being thus employed, during the time I served Mr. King, in going about the different estates on the island, I had all the opportunity I could wish for to see the dreadful usage of the poor men; usage that reconciled me to my fituation, and made me bless God for the hands into which I had fallen.

I had the good fortune to please my master in every department in which he employed me; and there was scarcely any part of his business or houshold affairs, in which I was not occasionally engaged. I often supplied the place of a clerk, in receiving and delivering cargoes to the ships, in tending stores, and delivering goods: and, besides this, I used to shave and dress my master when convenient, and take care of his horse, and when it was necessary, which was very often, I worked likewise on board of different vessels

of his. By these means I became very insessed to my master, and saved him, as he used to acknowledge, above a hundred pounds a year. Nor did he scruple to say I was of more advantage to him than any of his clerks; though their usual wages in the West Indies are from sixty to a hundred pounds current a year.

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I have fometimes heard it afferted that a negro cannot earn his master the first cost; but nothing can be further from the truth. I suppose nine tenths of the mechanics throughout the West Indies are negro slaves; and I well know the coopers among them earn two dollars a day; the carpenters the same, and oftentimes more; as also the masons, smiths, and fishermen, &c. and I have known many flaves whose masters would not take a thoufand pounds current for them. But furely this affertion refutes itself; for, if it be true, why do the planters and merchants pay fuch a price for flaves? And, above all, why do those who make this affertion exclaim the most loudly against the abolition of the slave trade? So much are men blinded, and to fuch inconfistent arguments are they driven by mistaken interest! I grant, indeed, that slaves are sometimes, by half-feeding, half-clothing, overworking, and stripes, reduced fo low, that they are turned out as unfit for fervice, and left to perith

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periffy in the woods, or expire on a dung-

My master was several times offered by different gentlemen one hundred guineas for me; but he always told them he would not sell me, to my great joy: and I used to double my diligence and care for fear of getting into the hands of those men who did not allow a valuable slave the common support of life. Many of them even used to find fault with my master for feeding his slaves so well, as he did; although I often went hungry, and an Englishman might think my fare very indifferent; but he used to tell them he always would do it, because the slaves thereby looked better and did more work.

While I was thus employed by my master, I was often a witness to cruelties of every kind, which were exercised on my unhappy sellow slaves. I used frequently to have different cargoes of new negroes in my care for sale; and it was almost a constant practice with our clerks, and other whites, to commit violent depredations on the chastity of the semale slaves; and these I was, though with reluctance, obliged to submit to at all times, being unable to help them. When we have had some of these slaves on board my master's vessels to carry them to other islands, or to America.

America, I have known our mates to commit these acts most shamefully, to the disgrace, not of Christians only, but of men. I have even known them gratify their brutal passion with females not ten years old; and these abominations some of them practifed to such fcandalous excess, that one of our captains discharged the mate and others on that account. And yet in Montserrat I have seen a negro-man traked to the ground, and cut most shockingly, and then his ears cut off bit by bit, because he had been connected with a white woman who was a common prostitute: as if it were no crime in the whites to rob an innocent African girl of her virtue; but most heinous in a black man only to gratify a paffion of nature, where the temptation was offered by one of a different colour, though the most abandoned woman of her species.

One Mr. D—— told me that he had fold 41,000 negroes, and that he once cut off a negro-man's leg for running away——I asked him, if the man had died in the operation, how he as a christian could answer for the horrid act before God? and he told me, answering was a thing of another world; what he thought and did were policy. I told him that the christian doctrine taught us to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us.

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He then faid that his scheme had the desired effect—it cured that man and some others of

running away.

Another negro-man was half hanged, and then burnt, for attempting to poison a cruel Thus by repeated cruelties are the wretched first urged to despair, and then murdered, because they still retain so much of human nature about them as to wish to put an end to their mifery, and retaliate on their tyrants! These overseers are indeed for the most part persons of the worst character of any denomination of men in the West Indies. Unfortunately, many humane gentlemen, by not residing on their estates, are obliged to leave the management of them in the hands of these human butchers, who cut and mangle the flaves in a shocking manner on the most trifling occasions, and altogether treat them in every respect like brutes. They pay no regard to the situation of pregnant women, nor the least attention to the lodging of the field negroes. Their huts, which ought to be well covered, and the place dry where they take their little repose, are often open sheds, built in damp places; so that, when the poor creatures return tired from the toils of the field, they contract many diforders, from being exposed to the damp air in this uncomfortable

comfortable state, while they are heated, and their pores are open. This neglect certainly conspires with many others to cause a decrease in the births as well as in the lives of the grown negroes. I can quote many instances of gentlemen who reside on their estates in the West Indies, and then the scene is quite changed; the negroes are treated with lenity. and proper care, by which their lives are prolonged, and their masters profited. To the honour of humanity, I knew feveral gentlemen who managed their estates in this manner; and they found that benevolence was their true interest. And, among many I could mention in feveral of the islands, I knew one in Montserrat* whose slaves looked remarkably well, and never needed any fresh fupplies of negroes; and there are many other estates, especially in Barbadoes, which, from fuch judicious treatment, need no fresh stock of negroes at any time. I have the honour of knowing a most worthy and humane gentleman, who is a native of Barbadoes, and has estates theret. This gentleman has written a treatife on the usage of his own slaves. He allows them two hours for refreshment at mid-day, and many other indulgences and

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^{*} Mr. Dubnry, and many others, in Montferrat.

comforts, particularly in their lying; and, belides this, he raifes more provitions on his estate than they can destroy; so that by these attentions he faves the lives of his negroes, and keeps them healthy, and as happy as the condition of flavery can admit. I myfelf, as shall appear in the fequel, managed an estate, where, by those attentions, the negroes were uncommonly chearful and healthy, and did more work by half than by the common mode of treatment they usually do. For want, therefore, of fuch care and attention to the poor negroes, and otherwise oppressed as they are, it is no wonder that the decrease should require 20,000 new negroes annually to fill up the vacant places of the dead.

Even in Barbadoes, notwithstanding those humane exceptions which I have mentioned, and others I am acquainted with, which justly make it quoted as a place where slaves meet with the best treatment, and need sewest recruits of any in the West Indies, yet this stland requires 1000 negroes annually to keep up the original stock, which is only 80,000. So that the whole term of a negro's life may be said to be there but sixteen years*! And yet the climate here is in every respect the same

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Benezei's Account of Guinea, p. 16.

as that from which they are taken, except in being more wholesome. Do the British colonies decrease in this manner? And yet what a prodigious difference is there between an

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English and West India climate?

While I was in Montserrat I knew a negro man, named Emanuel Sankey, who endeavoured to escape from his miserable bondage, by concealing himfelf on board of a London ship: but fate did not favour the poor oppressed man; for, being discovered when the veffel was under fail, he was delivered up again to his master. This Christian master immediately pinned the wretch down to the ground at each writt and ancle, and then took some sticks of fealing wax, and lighted them, and dropped it all over his back. There was another master who was noted for cruelty; and I believe he had not a slave but what had been cut, and had pieces fairly taken out of the flesh; and after they had been punished thus, he used to make them get into a long wooden box or case he had for that purpose, in which he shut them up during pleasure. It was just about the height and breadth of a man; and the poor wretches had no room when in the case to move.

It was very common in several of the islands, particularly in St. Kitt's, for the slaves to be branded branded with the initial letters of their master's name, and a load of heavy iron hooks hung about their necks. Indeed on the most trifling occasions they were loaded with chains, and often instruments of torture were added. iron muzzle, thumb-screws, &c. are so well known as not to need a description, and were fometimes applied for the flightest faults. I have feen a negro beaten till some of his bones were broken, for only letting a pot boil over. I have often asked many of the men slaves (who used to go several miles to their wives, and late in the night, after having been wearied with a hard day's labour) why they went fo far for wives, and why they did not take them of their own master's negro-women, and particularly those who lived together as household flaves. Their answers have ever been-"Because when the master or mistress choose to punish the women, they make the husbands flog their own wives, and that they could not bear to do." Is it furprising that usage like this should drive the poor creatures to despair, and make them seek a refuge in death from those evils which render their lives intolerable-while

This

[&]quot;With shuld'ring horror pale, and eyes aghast,

[&]quot;They view their lamentable lot, and find

[&]quot; No reft!"

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This they frequently do. A negro-man on board a vessel of my master, while I belonged to her, having been put in irons for some trisling misdemeanor, and kept in that state for some days, being weary of life, took an opportunity of jumping overboard into the sea; however, he was picked up without being drowned. Another whose life was also a burden to him, resolved to starve himself to death, and resused to eat any victuals: this procured him a severe slogging; and he also, on the first occasion which offered, jumped overboard at Charles Town, but was saved.

Nor is there any greater regard shewn to the little property than there is to the persons and lives of the negroes. I have already related an instance or two of particular oppresfion out of many which I have witneffed, but the following is frequent in all the illands. The wretched field-flaves, after toiling all the day for an unfeeling owner, who gives them but little vicuals, steal sometimes a few moments from rest or refreshment to gather fome finall portion of grafs, according as their time will admit. This they commonly tie up in a parcel; either a bit's worth (fixpence) or half a bit's worth; and bring it to town, or to the market to fell. Nothing is more common than for the white people on this occafion

fion to take the grass from them without paying for it; and not only so, but too often also to my knowledge, our clerks and many others, at the same time have committed acts of violence on the poor, wretched, and helpless females; whom I have feen for hours stand crying to no purpose, and get no redress or pay of any kind. Is not this one common and crying fin enough to bring down God's judgment on the islands? He tells us the oppressor and the oppressed are both in his hands; and if these are not the poor, the broken-hearted, the blind, the captive, the bruifed, which our Saviour speaks of, who are they? One of these depredators once, in St. Eustatia, came on board of our wessel, and bought some fowls and pigs of me; and a whole day after his departure with the things, he returned again, and wanted his money back : I refused to give it; and, not seeing my captain on board, he began the common pranks with me; and fwore he would even break open my cheft and take my money. I therefore expected, as my captain was absent, that he would be as good as his word: and he was just proceeding to strike me, when fortunately a British seaman on board, whose heart had not been debauched by a West India climate, interposed and prevented him. But had the cruel

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cruel man struck me I certainly should have defended myself at the hazard of my life; for what is life to a man thus oppressed? He went away, however, swearing; and threatened that whenever he caught me on shore he would

shoot me, and pay for me afterwards.

The finall account in which the life of a negro is held in the West Indies, is so univerfally known, that it might feem impertinent to quote the following extract, if some people had not been hardy enough of late to affert that negroes are on the same footing in that respect as Europeans. By the 3 29th Act, page 125, of the Assembly of Barbadoes, it is enacted ' That if any negro, or other flave, under punishment by his master, or his or-' der, for running away, or any other crime ' or misdemeanor towards his said master, un-' fortunately shall suffer in life or member, no ' person whatsoever shall be liable to a fine; ' but if any man shall out of wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro, or other flave, of his own, he shall pay into the public treasury fifteen ' pounds fterling.' And it is the same in most, if not all, of the West India islands. Is not this one of the many acts of the islands which call loudly for redress? And do not the Affembly which enacted it deferve the appellation lation of savages and brutes rather than of christians and men? It is an act at once unmerciful, unjust and unwise; which for cruelty would disgrace an assembly of those who are called barbarians; and for its injustice and infanity would shock the morality and common sense of a Samaide or Hottentot.

Shocking as this and many other acts of the bloody West India code at first view appear, how is the iniquity of it heightened when we confider to whom it may be extended! Mr. James Tobin, a zealous labourer in the vineyard of flavery, gives an account of a French planter of his acquaintance, in the island of Martinico, who shewed him many mulattoes working in the fields like beafts of burden; and he told Mr. Tobin these were all the produce of his own loins! And I myfelf have known similar instances. Pray, reader, are these sons and daughters of the French planter less his children by being begotten on black women! And what must be the virtue of those legislators, and the feelings of those fathers, who estimate the lives of their sons, however begotten, at no more than fifteen pounds; though they should be murdered, as the act fays, out of wantonness and bloody-mindedness! But is not the flave trade entirely a war, with

* In his "Curfory Remarks."

the heart of man? And furely that which is begun by breaking down the barriers of virtue, involves in its continuance destruction to every principle, and buries all sentiments in ruin!

I have often feen flaves, particularly those who were meagre, in different islands, put into scales and weighed; and then fold from three-pence to fix-pence or nine-pence a pound. My master, however, whose humanity was shocked at this mode, used to fell such by the lump. And at or after a fale, even those negroes born in the islands it is not uncommon to see taken from their wives, wives taken from their husbands, and children from their parents, and fent off to other islands, wherever else their merciles lords choose; and probably never more during life fee each other! Oftentimes my heart has bled at these partings; when the friends of the departed have been at the water-fide, and with fighs and tears, have kept their eyes fixed on the vessel till it went out of fight.

A poor Creole negro I knew well, who after having been often thus transported from island to island at last resided in Montserrat. This man used to tell me many melancholy tales of himself. Generally after he had done working for his master, he used to employ his few lessure moments to go a hishing. When he

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had caught any fish, his master would frequently take them from him without paying him; and at other times fome other white people would ferve him in the same manner. One day he faid to me, very movingly, 'Sometimes when a white man take away my fish I go to my maser, and he get me 'my right; and when my maser by strength 'take away my fishes, what me must do? I can't go to any body to be righted;' then, faid the poor man, looking up above, 'I must look up to God Mighty in the top for right. This artless tale moved me much, and I could not help feeling the just cause Moses had in redressing his brother against the Egyptian. I exhorted the man to look up still to the God on the top, since there was no redress below. Though I little thought then that I myself should more than once experience fuch imposition, and need the same exhortation hereafter, in my own transactions in the islands; and that even this poor man and I should some time after suffer together in the same manner, as shall be related hereafter.

Nor was such nsage as this confined to particular places or individuals; for, in all the different islands in which I have been (and I have

have visited no less than sifteen) the treatment of the flaves was nearly the fame; fo nearly indeed, that the history of an island, or even a plantation, with a few fuch exceptions as I have mentioned, might serve for a history of the whole. Such a tendency has the flave-trade to debauch men's minds, and harden them to every feeling of humanity! For I will not suppose that the dealers in flaves are born worse than other men-No; it is the fatality of this mistaken avarice, that it corrupts the milk of human kindness and turns it into gall. And, had the pursuits of those men been different, they might have been as generous, as tender-hearted and just, as they are unfeeling, rapacious and cruel. Surely this traffic cannot be good, which spreads like a pestilence, and taints what it touches! which violates that first natural right of mankind, equality and independency, and gives one man a dominion over his fellows which God could never intend! For it raises the owner to a state as far above man as it depresses the slave below it; and, with all the prefumption of human pride, sets a distinction between them, immeasureable in extent, and endless in duration! Yet how mistaken is the avarice even of the planters. Are Haves

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laves more useful by being thus humbled to he condition of brutes, than they would be

f suffered to enjoy the privileges of men? The freedom which diffuses health and profperity throughout Britain answers you--No. When you make men flaves you deprive them of half their virtue, you let them in your own conduct, an example of fraud, rapine, and cruelty, and compel them to live with you in a state of war; and yet you complain that they are not honest or faithful! You stupify them with stripes, and think it necessary to keep them in a state of ignorance; and yet you affert that they are incapable of learning; that their minds are fuch a barren foil or moor, that culture would be loft on them; and that they come from a climate, where nature, though prodigal of her bounties in a degree unknown to yourselves, has left man alone scant and unfinished, and incapable of enjoying the treasures she has poured out for him!—An affertion at once impious and abfurd. Why do you use those instruments of torture? Are they fit to be applied by one rational being to another? And are ye not struck with shame and mortification, to see the partakers of your nature reduced fo low? But, above all, are there no dangers attending this mode of treatment? Are you not hourly H 2 111

in dread of an infurrection? Nor would it be furprising: for when

" - No peace is given

" To us enflav'd, but cuftody fevere;

"And firipes and arbitrary punishment "Inflicted-What peace can we return?

"But to our power, hosfility and hate;

"Untam'd reluctance, and revenge, tho' flow.

"Yet ever plotting how the conquetor leaft "May reap his corqueft, and may leaft rejoice

" In doing what we most in suffering feel."

But by changing your conduct, and treating your flaves as men, every cause of sear would be banished. They would be faithful, honest, intelligent and vigorous; and peace, prosperity, and happiness, would attend you.

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CHAP. VI.

Some account of Brimstone-Hill in Montserrat

—The author surprised by two earthquakes—
Favourable change in the author's situation—
He commences merchant with three-pence—His various success in dealing in the disserent islands, and America, and the impositions he meets with in his transactions with white people—A curious imposition on human nature—
Danger of the surfs in the West Indies—Remarkable instance of kidnapping a free mulatto—The author is nearly murdered by Doctor Perkins in Savannah.

In the preceding chapter I have fet before the reader a few of those many instances of oppression, extortion, and cruelty, which I have been a witness to in the West Indies: but, were I to enumerate them all, the catalogue would be tedious and disgusting. The punishments of the slaves on every trisling occasion are so frequent, and so well known, together with the different instruments with which they are tortured, that it cannot any longer afford novelty to recite them; and they

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are too shocking to yield delight either to the writer or the reader. I shall therefore hereaster only mention such as incidentally besel myself in the course of my adventures.

In the variety of departments in which I was employed by my matter, I had an opportunity of feeing many curious fcenes in different islands; but, above all, I was struck with a celebrated curiofity called Brimstone-Hill, which is a high and steep mountain, some few miles from the town of Plymouth in Montferrat. I had often heard of some wonders that were to be feen on this hill, and I went once with fome white and black people to visit it. When we arrived at the top, I saw under different eliffs great flakes of brimstone, occasioned by the steams of various little ponds, which were then boiling naturally in the earth. Some of these ponds were as white as milk, some quite blue, and many others of different colours. I had taken some potatoes with me, and I put them into different ponds, and in a few minutes they were well boiled. I tasted some of them, but they were very fulphureous; and the filver shoe buckles, and all the other things of that metal we had among us, were, in a little time, turned as black as lead.

Whilst I was in the island, one night I felt

a strange sensation, viz. I was told that the house where I lived was haunted by spirits! And once, at midnight, as I was fleeping on a large cheft, I felt the whole building shake in an uncommon and aftonishing manner; to much so, that it shook me off the chest where I then lay. I was exceedingly frightened, and thought it was indeed the vilitation of the spirits. It threw me into such a tremor as is not to be described. I instantly covered my head all over as I lay, and did not know what to think or do; and in this consternation, a gentleman who lay in the next room just by me came out, and I was glad to hear him, and made a fham cough, and he asked me if I felt the earthquake. I told him I was shook off the chest where I lay, but did not know what occasioned it; and he told me it was an earthquake, and shook him out of his bed. At this hearing I became easy in my mind.

At another time a circumstance of this kind happened, when I was on board of a vessel at Montserrat-Road, at midnight, as we were asseep, and it shook the vessel in the most unaccountable manner imaginable, and to me it seemed as when a vessel or a boat runs on gravel, as near as I can describe it. Many things on board were moved out of their places, but

happily no damage was done.

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Some time in the year 1763, kind Providence seemed to appear rather more favourable to me. One of my master's vessels, a Bermudas floop, about fixty tons burthen, was commanded by one Captain Thomas Farmer, an Englishman, a very alert and active man, who gained my master a great deal of money by his good management in carrying passengers from one island to another; but very often his failors used to get drunk and run away from the veffel, which hindered him in his business very much. This man had taken a liking to me; and many different times begged of my master to let me go a trip with him as a failor; but he would tell him he could not spare me, though the vessel sometimes could not go for want of hands, for failors were generally very scarce in the island. However, at last, from necessity or force, my master was prevailed on, though very reluctantly, to let me go with this captain; but he gave him great charge to take care that I did not run away, for if I did, he would make him pay for me. This being the case, the captain had for some time a sharp eye upon me whenever the vessel anchored; and as foon as the returned I was fent for on shore again. Thus was I slaving as it were for life, sometimes at one thing, and sometimes at another; so that the captain and I were

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were nearly the most useful men in my mafter's employment. I also became so useful to the captain on shipboard, that many times, when he used to ask for me to go with him, though it should be but for twenty-four hours, to some of the islands near us, my master would answer he could not spare me; which the captain would fwear, and would not go the trip, and tell my matter I was better to him on board than any three white men he had; for they used to behave ill in many respects, particularly in getting drunk, and then they frequently got the boat stove, so as to hinder the veffel from coming back fo foon as she might have done. This my mafter knew very well: and at last, by the captain's constant entreaties, after I had been feveral times with him, one day to my great joy, told me the captain would not let him reft, and asked whether I would go abroad as a failor, or stay on shore and mind the stores, for he could not bear any longer to be plagued I was very happy at this in this manner. proposal, for I immediately thought I might in time stand some chance by being on board to get a little money, or possibly make my escape if I should be used ill; I also expected to get better food, and in greater abundance; for I had oftentimes felt much hunger, though H 5

my master treated his slaves, as I have obferved, uncommonly well. I therefore, without hesitation, answered him, that I would go and be a failor if he pleased. Accordingly I was ordered on board directly. Nevertheless, between the vessel and the shore, when she was in port, I had little or no rest, as my mafter always wished to have me along with Indeed he was a very pleafant gentleman, and but for my expectations on shipboard I should not have thought of leaving But the captain liked me also very much, and I was entirely his right-hand man. I did all I could to deserve his favour, and in return I received better treatment from him than any other I believe ever met with in the West Indies in my situation.

After I had been failing for some time with this captain, at length I endeavoured to try my luck and commence merchant. I had but a very small capital to begin with; for one fingle half bit, which is equal to three pence in England, made up my whole stock. However I trulted to the Lord to be with me; and at one of our trips to St. Eustatia, a Dutch island, I bought a glass tumbler with my half bit, and when I came to Montserrat I sold it for a bit, or fix-pence. Luckily we made several successive trips to St. Eustatia (which

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was a general mart for the West Indies, about twenty leagues from Montserrat) and in our next, finding my tumbler fo profitable, with this one bit I bought two tumblers more; and when I came back I fold them for two bits, equal to a shilling sterling. When we went again I bought with these two bits four more of these glasses, which I sold for four bits on our return to Montserrat: and in our next voyage to St. Eustatia, I bought two glasses with one bit, and with the other three I bought a jug of Geneva, nearly about three pints in measure. When we came to Montferrat, I fold the gin for eight bits, and the tumblers for two, fo that my capital now amounted in all to a dollar, well husbanded and acquired in the space of a month or fix weeks, when I bleffed the Lord that I was fo rich. As we failed to different islands, I laid this money out in various things occasionally, and it used to turn to very good account, especially when we went to Guadaloupe, Grenada, and the rest of the French islands. Thus was I going all about the islands upwards of four years, and ever trading as I went, during which I experienced many instances of ill usage, and have seen many injuries done to other negroes in our dealings with whites: and, amidst our recreations,

when we have been dancing and merrymaking, they without cause, have molested and infulted us. Indeed I was more than once obliged to look up to God on high, as I had advised the poor fisherman some time before. And I had not been long trading for myself in the manner I have related above, when I experienced the like trial in company with him as follows: This man being used to the water, was upon an emergency put on board of us by his mafter to work as another hand, on a voyage to Santa Cruz; and at our failing he had brought his little all for a venture, which confifted of fix bits' worth of limes and oranges in a bag; I had also my whole stock, which was about twelve bits worth of the fame kind of goods, separate in two bags; for we had heard these fruits sold well in that island. When we came there, in some little convenient time he and I went ashore with our fruits to fell them; but we had fcarcely landed when we were met by two white men, who presently took our three bags from us. We could not at first guess what they meant to do; and for some time we thought they were jesting with us; but they too foon let us know otherwise, for they took our ventures immediately to a house hard by, and adjoining the fort, while we followed all the way begging

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of them to give us our fruits, but in vain. They not only refused to return them, but fwore at us, and threatened if we did not immediately depart they would flog us well. We told them these three bags were all we were worth in the world, that we brought them with us to fell, and that we came from Montferrat, and shewed them the vessel. But this was rather against us, as they now faw we were strangers as well as slaves. They still therefore fwore, and defired us to be gone, and even took sticks to beat us; while we, feeing they meant what they faid, went off in the greatest confusion and despair. Thus, in the very minute of gaining more by three times than I ever did by any venture in my life before, was I deprived of every farthing I was worth. An insupportable misfortune! but how to help ourselves we knew not. In our consternation we went to the commanding officer of the fort, and told him how we had been ferved by some of his people; but we obtained not the least redress: he answered our complaints only by a volley of imprecations against us, and immediately took a horfe-whip, in order to chastife us, so that we were obliged to turn out much faster than we came in. I now, in the agony of diffress and indignation, wished that the ire of God in his forked lightning might transfix these cruel oppressors among the dead. Still however we persevered; went back again to the house, and begged and befought them again and again for our fruits, till at last some other people that were in the house asked if we would be contented if they kept one bag and gave us the other two. We, feeing no remedy whatever, consented to this; and they, observing one bag to have both kinds of fruit in it, which belonged to my companion, kept that; and the other two which were mine, they gave us back. As foon as I got them, I ran as fast as I could, and got the first negro man I could to help me off; my companion, however, stayed a little longer to plead: he told them the bag they had was his, and likewise all that he was worth in the world; but this was of no avail, and he was obliged to return without it. The poor old man wringing his hands cried bitterly for his loss; and, indeed, he then did look up to God on high, which so moved me with pity for him, that I gave him nearly one third of my fruits. We then proceeded to the markets to fell them; and Providence was more favourable to us than we could have expected, for we fold our fruits uncommonly well; I got for mine about thirty-seven bits. Such

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Such a surprising reverse of fortune in so short a space of time seemed like a dream, and proved no small encouragement for me to trust the Lord in any situation. My captain afterwards frequently used to take my part, and get me my right, when I have been plundered or used ill by these tender Christian depredators; among whom I have shuddered to observe the unceasing blasphemous execrations which are wantonly thrown out by persons of all ages and conditions, not only without occasion, but even as if they were indulgences and pleasure.

At one of our trips to St. Kitt's, I had eleven bits of my own; and my friendly captain lent me five more, with which I bought a Bible. I was very glad to get this book, which I fcarcely could meet with any where. I think there was none fold in Montferrat; and, much to my grief, from being forced out of the Ætna in the manner I have related, my Bible, and the Guide to the Indians, the two books I loved above all others,

were left behind.

While I was in this place (St. Kitt's) a very curious imposition on human nature took place:—A white man wanted to marry in the church a free black woman that had land and slaves in Montserrat; but the clergyman told him

him it was against the law of the place to marry a white and a black in the church. The man then asked to be married on the water, to which the parson consented, and the two lovers went in one boat, and the parson and clerk in another, and thus the ceremony was performed. After this the loving pair came on board our vessel, and my captain treated them extremely well, and

brought them fafe to Montferrat.

The reader cannot but judge of the irksomeness of this situation to a mind like mine, in being daily exposed to new hardships and impositions, after having seen many better days, and been, as it were, in a state of freedom and plenty; added to which, every part of the world I had hitherto been in, seemed to me a paradife in comparison of the West Indies. My mind was therefore hourly replete with inventions and thoughts of being freed, and, if possible, by honest and honourable means; for I always remembered the old adage; and I trust it has ever been my ruling principle, that "Honesty is the best policy;" and likewife that other golden precept -- "To " do unto all men as I would they should do " unto me." However, as I was from early years a predestinarian, I thought whatever fate had determined must ever come to pass;

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and therefore, if ever it were my lot to be freed nothing could prevent me, although I fhould at present see no means or hope to obtain my freedom; on the other hand, if it were my fate not to be freed I never should be so, and all my endeavours for that purpose would be fruitless. In the midst of these thoughts I therefore looked up with prayers anxiously to God for my liberty; and at the fame time used every honest means, and did all that was possible on my part to obtain it. In process of time I became master of a few pounds, and in a fair way of making more, which my friendly captain knew very well: this occasioned him sometimes to take liberties with me; but whenever he treated me waspishly I used plainly to tell him my mind, and that I would die before I would be imposed upon as other negroes were, and that to me life had lost its relish when liberty was gone. This I said atthough I foresaw my then well-being or future hopes of freedom (humanly speaking) depended on this man. However, as he could not bear the thoughts of my not failing with him, he always became mild on my threats. I therefore continued with him; and, from my great attention to his orders and his business I gained him credit, and through his kindness to me I at last procured

While I thus went on, procured my liberty. filled with the thoughts of freedom, and refifting oppression as well as I was able, my life hung daily in suspense, particularly in the furfs I have formerly mentioned, as I could These are extremely violent not fwim. throughout the West Indies, and I was ever exposed to their howling rage and devouring fury in all the islands. I have seen them strike and tols a boat right up an end, and maim feveral on board. Once in the Grenada islands, when I and about eight others were pulling a large boat with two puncheons of water in it, a furf fruck us, and drove the boat and all in it about half a stone's throw, among some trees, and above the high water mark. We were obliged to get all the affiftance we could from the nearest estate to mend the boat, and launch it into the water again. At Montserrat one night, in pressing hard to get off the shore on board, the punt was overfet with us four times; the first time I was very near being drowned; however the jacket I had on kept me up above water a little space of time, while I called on a man near me who was a good swimmer, and told him l could not swim; he then made haste to me, and, just as I was finking, he caught hold of me, and brought me to founding, and then

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he went and brought the punt also. As soon as we had turned the water out of her, left we should be used ill for being absent, we attempted again three times more, and as often the horrid furfs served us as at first; but at last, the fifth time we attempted, we gained our point, at the imminent hazard of our lives. One day also, at Old Road in Montserrat, our captain and three men besides myself, were going in a large canoe in quest of rum and fugar, when a fingle furf toffed the canoe an amazing distance from the water, and some of us, near a stone's throw from each other; most of us were very much bruised: fo that I and many more often faid, and really thought, that there was not fuch another place under the heavens as this. I longed therefore much to leave it, and daily wished to see my master's promise performed of going to Philadelphia.

While we lay in this place a very cruel thing happened on board of our floop, which filled me with horror; though I found afterwards such practices were frequent. There was a very clever and decent free young mulatto-man who sailed a long time with us: he had a free woman for his wife, by whom he had a child; and she was then living on shore, and all very happy. Our captain and mate,

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and other people on board, and feveral elfewhere, even the natives of Bermudas, then with us, all knew this young man from a child that he was always free, and no one had ever claimed him as their property: however, as might too often overcomes right in these parts, it happened that a Bermudas captain, whose veffel lay there for a few days in the road came on board of us, and feeing the mulattoman, whose name was Joseph Clipson, he told bim he was not free, and that he had orders from his matter to bring him to Bermudas. The poor man could not believe the captain to be in earnest; but he was very soon undeceived, his men laying violent hands on him; and although he shewed a certificate of his being born free in St. Kitt's, and most people on board knew that he ferved his time to boat building, and always passed for a free man, yet he was forcibly taken out of our vessel. He then asked to be carried ashore before the fecretary or magistrates, and these infernal invaders of human rights promifed him he should; but, instead of that, they carried him on board of the other vessel: and the next day, without giving the poor man any hearing on shore, or suffering him even to fee his wife or child, he was carried away, and probably doomed never more in this world

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to fee them again. Nor was this the only instance of this kind of barbarity I was a witness to. I have since often seen in Jamaica and other islands, free men, whom I have known in America, thus villanously trepanned and held in bondage. I have heard oftwo fimilar practices even in Philadelphia: and were it not for the benevolence of the quakers in that city, many of the fable race, who now breathe the air of liberty, would, I believe, be groaning indeed under some planter's chains. These things opened my mind to a new scene of horror, to which I had been before a stranger. Hitherto I had thought only flavery dreadful; but the flate of a tree negro appeared to me now equally fo at leaft, and in some respects even worse, for they live in constant alarm for their liberty, which is but nominal, for they are universally infulted and plundered without the possibility of redress; for such is the equity of the West Indian laws, that no free negro's evidence will be admitted in their courts of justice. In this fituation is it furprifing that flaves, when mildly treated should prefer even the misery of flavery to fuch a mockery of freedom? I was now completely difgusted with the West Indies; and thought I never should be entirely free until I had left them.

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" With thoughts like the e my anxious boding mind

"Recall'd those pleasing scenes I lest behind!
"Scenes where fair Liberty in bright array

"Makes darknets bright, and e'en illumines day; "Where nor complexion, wealth, or station, can

" Protect the wretch who makes a flave of man."

I determined to make every exertion to obtain my freedom, and to return to Old England. For this purpose I thought a knowledge of navigation might be of use to me; for, though I did not intend to run away unless I should be ill used, yet, in such a case, if I understood navigation, I might attempt my escape in our sloop, which was one of the swiftest failing vessels in the West Indies, and I could be at no loss for hands to join me: and if I should make this attempt, I had intended to have gone for England; but this, as I faid, was only to be in the event of my meeting with any ill usage. I therefore employed the mate of our veffel to teach me navigation, for which I agreed to give him twenty-four dollars, and actually paid him part of the money down; though when the captain, some time after, came to know that the mate was to have fuch a fum for teaching me, he rebuked him, and faid it was a shame for him to take any money from me. However, my progress in this useful art was much retarded

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retarded by the constancy of our work. Had I wished to run away I did not want opportunities, which frequently presented themfelves; and particularly at one time, foon after this. When we were at the island of Guadaloupe there was a large fleet of merchantmen bound for Old France; and, feamen then being very scarce, they gave from fifteen to twenty pounds a man for the run. Our mate, and all the white failors, left our vessel on this account, and went on board of the French ships. They would have had me also to go with them, for they regarded me; and swore to protect me, if I would go: and, as the fleet was to fail the next day, I really believe I could have got fafe to Europe at that time. However, as my master was kind, I would not attempt to leave him; still remembering the old maxim, that ' honesty is the best policy,' I suffered them to go without me. Indeed my captain was much afraid of my leaving him and the vessel at that time, as I had fo fair an opportunity: but I thank God, this fidelity of mine turned out much to my advantage hereafter, when I did not in the least think of it; and made me so much in favour with the captain, that he used now and then to teach me some parts of navigation himself; but some of our passengers, and others.

others, feeing this, found much fault with him for it, faying it was a very dangerous thing to let a negro know navigation; thus I was hindered again in my pursuits. About the latter end of the year 1764, my master bought a larger floop, called the Prudence, about seventy or eighty tons, of which my captain had the command. I went with him into this vessel, and we took a load of new flaves for Georgia and Charles Town. My master now left me entirely to the captain, though he still wished for me to be with him; but I, who always much wished to lose fight of the West Indies, was not a little rejoiced at the thoughts of feeing any other country. Therefore, relying on the goodness of my captain, I got ready all the little venture I could; and, when the veffel was ready, we failed to my great joy. When we got to our destined places, Georgia and Charles Town, I expected I should have an opportunity of felling my little property to advantage: but here, particularly in Charles Town, I met with buyers, white men, who imposed on me as in other places. Notwithstanding, I was resolved to have fortitude; thinking no lot or trial too hard when kind Heaven is the rewarder.

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We foon got loaded again, and returned to Montferrat; Montferrat; and there, amongst the rest of the islands, I fold my goods well; and in this manner I continued trading during the year 1764; meeting with various scenes of impolition, as usual. After this, my master fitted out his vessel for Philadelphia, in the year 1765; and during the time we were loading her, and getting ready for the voyage, I worked with redoubled alacrity, from the hope of getting money enough by these voyages to buy my freedom, in time, if it should please God; and also to see the town of Philadelphia, which I had heard a great deal about for some years past; besides which, I had always longed to prove my mafter's promife the first day I came to him. In the midst of these elevated ideas, and while I was about getting my little merchandise in readiness, one Sunday my mafter sent for me to his house. When I came there I found him and the captain together; and, on my going in, I was ftruck with aftonishment at his telling me he heard that I meant to run away from him when I got to Philadelphia: 'And therefore,' said he, 'I must sell you again: you cost me a great deal of money, no less than forty pounds sterling; and it will not do to 'lose fo much. You are a valuable fellow,' continued he; ' and I can get any day for you

'you one hundred guineas, from any gen-'tleman in this island.' And then he told me of Captain Doran's brother-in-law, a fevere master, who ever wanted to buy me to make me his overfeer. My captain also said he could get much more than a hundred guineas for me in Carolina. This I knew to be a fact; for the gentleman that wanted to buy me came off feveral times on board of us; and spoke to me to live with him, and said he would use me well. When I asked what work he would put me to, he faid, as I was a failor, he would make me a captain of one of his rice veffels. But I refused: and fearing at the same time, by a sudden turn I saw in the captain's temper, he might mean to fell me, I told the gentleman I would not live with him on any condition, and that I certainly would run away with his vessel: but he said he did not fear that, as he would catch me again; and then he told me how cruelly he would ferve me if I should do so. My captain, however, gave him to understand that I knew fomething of navigation: fo he thought better of it; and, to my great joy, he went away. I now told my master I did not say I would run away in Philadelphia; neither did I mean it, as he did not use me ill, nor yet the captain: for if they did I certainly would

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would have made some attempts before now; but as I thought that if it were God's will I ever should be freed it would be so, and, on the contrary, if it was not his will it would not happen; fo I hoped if ever I were freed, whilst I was used well, it should be by honest means; but as I could not help myfelf, he must do as he pleased; I could only hope and truft to the God of Heaven; and at that instant my mind was big with inventions and full of schemes to escape. I then appealed to the captain whether he ever faw any fign of my making the least attempt to run away : and asked him if I did not always come on board according to the time for which he gave me liberty; and, more particularly, when all our men left us at Guadaloupe and went on board of the French fleet, and advised me to go with them, whether I might not, and that he could not have got me again. To my no small surprise, and very great joy, the captain confirmed every fyllable that I had faid, and even more; for he faid he had tried different times to fee if I would make any attempt of this kind, both at St. Eustatia and in America, and he never found that I made the smallest, but, on the contrary, I always came on board according to his orders; and he did really believe, if I ever meant to run away, that, as I could never have had a better opportunity,

portunity, I would have done it the night the mate and all the people left our vessel at The captain then informed my Guadaloupe. mafter, who had been thus imposed on by our mate, (though I did not know who was my enemy) the reason the mate had for imposing this lie upon him; which was, because I had acquainted the captain of the provisions the mate had given away or taken out of the veffel. This speech of the captain was like life to the dead to me, and inftantly my foul glorified God; and still more fo on hearing my master immediately say that I was a sensible fellow, and he never did intend to use me as a common flave; and that but for the entreaties of the captain, and his character of me, he would not have let me go from the stores about as I had done: that also, in so doing, he thought by carrying one little thing or other to different places to fell I might make money. That he also intended to encourage me in this, by crediting me with half a puncheon of rum and half a hogshead of fugar at a time; so that from being careful, I might have money enough, in some time, to purchase my freedom; and, when that was the case, I might depend upon it he would let me have it for forty pounds sterling money, which was only the same price he gave for This found gladdened my poor heart beyond

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beyond measure; though indeed it was no more than the very idea I had formed in my mind of my mafter long before, and I immediately made him this reply: 'Sir, I always had that very thought of you, indeed I had, and that made me fo diligent in ferving He then gave me a large piece of filver coin, such as I had never feen or had before, and told me to get ready for the voyage, and he would credit me with a tierce of fugar and another of rum; he also said that he had two amiable fifters in Philadelphia, from whom I might get some necessary things. Upon this my noble captain defired me to go aboard; and knowing the African metal, he charged me not to fay any thing of this matter to any body; and he promised that the lying mate should not go with him any more. This was a change indeed; in the fame hour to feel the most exquisite pain, and in the turn of a moment the fullest joy. It caused in me such fensations as I was only able to express in my looks; my heart was fo overpowered with gratitude that I could have kiffed both of their When I left the room I immediately went, or rather flew, to the vessel, which being loaded, my mafter, as good as his word, trusted me with a tierce of rum, and another of fugar, when we failed, and arrived fafe at the elegant town of Philadelphia. I foon fold I 3 my

my goods here pretty well; and in this charming place I found every thing plentiful and

cheap.

While I was in this place a very extraordinary occurrence befell me. I had been told one evening of a wife woman, a Mrs. Davis, who revealed fecrets, foretold events, &c. I put little faith in this story at first, as I could not conceive that any mortal could foresee the future disposals of Providence, nor did I believe in any other revelation than that of the Holy Scriptures; however, I was greatly aftonished at seeing this woman in a dream that night, though a person I never before beheld in my life; this made fuch an impression on me, that I could not get the idea the next day out of my mind, and I then became as anxious to fee her as I was before indifferent; accordingly in the evening, after we left off working, I inquired where the lived, and being directed to her, to my inexpressible furprife, beheld the very woman in the very fame dress she appeared to me to wear in the vision. She immediately told me I had dreamed of her the preceding night; related to me many things that had happened with a correctness that astonished me; and finally told me I should not be long a slave: this was the more agreeable news, as I believed it the more readily from her having so faithfully related

I should be twice in very great danger of my life within eighteen months, which, if I escaped, I should afterwards go on well; so, giving me her blessing, we parted. After staying here some time tillour vessel was loaded, and I had bought in my little trassic, we failed from this agreeable spot for Montserrat, once

more to encounter the raging furfs.

We arrived fafe at Montserrat, where we discharged our cargo; and soon after that we took flaves on board for St. Eustatia, and from thence to Georgia. I had always exerted myfelf, and did double work, in order to make our voyages as short as possible; and from thus overworking myself while we were at Georgia I caught a fever and ague. I was very ill for eleven days, and near dying; eternity was now exceedingly impressed on my mind, and I feared very much that awful event. I prayed the Lord therefore to spare me; and I made a promise in my mind to God, that I would be good if ever I should recover. At length, from having an eminent doctor to attend me, I was restored again to health; and soon after we got the vessel loaded, and set off for Montferrat. During the passage, as I was perfectly restored, and had much business of the vessel to mind, all my endeavours to keep up my integrity, and perform my promise to God, be-

gan to fail; and, in spite of all I could do, as we drew nearer and nearer to the islands, my resolutions more and more declined, as if the very air of that country or climate seemed fatal to piety. When we were fafe arrived at Montferrat, and I had got ashore, I forgot my former resolutions .- Alas! how prone is the heart to leave that God it wishes to love! and how strongly do the things of this world strike the fenses and captivate the soul!—After our vesfel was discharged, we soon got her ready, and took in, as usual, some of the poor oppressed natives of Africa, and other negroes; we then fet off again for Georgia and Charlestown. We arrived at Georgia, and, having landed part of our cargo, proceeded to Charlestown with the remainder. While we were there I faw the town illuminated; the guns were fired, and bonfires and other demonstrations of joy shewn, on account of the repeal of the stampact. Here I disposed of some goods on my own account; the white men buying them with smooth promises and fair words, giving me, however, but very indifferent payment. There was one gentleman particularly who bought a puncheon of rum of me, which gave me a great deal of trouble; and although I used the interest of my friendly captain, I could not obtain any thing for it; for, being a negro man, I could not oblige him to pay me. This vexed me much,

much, not knowing how to act; and I loft fome time in seeking after this Christian; and though, when the Sabbath came (which the negroesufuallymake their holyday) I was much inclined to go to public worship, I was obliged to hire some black men to help to pull a boat across the water to go in quest of this gentleman. When I found him, after much entreaty, both from myfelf and my worthy captain, he at last paid me in dollars; some of them, however, were copper, and of consequence of no value; but he took advantage of my being a negro man, and obliged me to put up with those or none, although I objected to them. Immediately after, as I was trying to pass them in the market amongst other white men, I was abused for offering to pass bad coin; and, though I shewed them the man I had got them from, I was within one minute of being tied up and flogged without either judge or jury; however, by the help of a good pair of heels, I ran off, and so escaped the bastinadoes I should have received. I got on board as fast as I could, but still continued in fear of them until we failed, which I thank God, we did not long after; and I have never been amongst them fince.

We foon came to Georgia, where we were to complete our lading; and here worse fate than ever attended me: for one Sunday night,

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as I was with some negroes in their master's yard in the town of Savannah, it happened that their master, one Doctor Perkins, who was a very severe and cruel man, came in drunk; and not liking to see any strange negroes in his yard, he, and a ruffian of a white man he had in his fervice, befet me in an instant, and both of them struck me with the first weapons they could get hold of. I cried out as long as I could for help and mercy; but, though I gave a good account of myself, and he knew my captain, who lodged hard by him, it was to no purpose. They beat and mangled me in a shameful manner, leaving me near dead. lost so much blood from the wounds I received, that I lay quite motionless, and was so benumbed that I could not feel any thing for many hours. Early in the morning they took me away to the jail. As I did not return to the ship all night, my captain, not knowing where I was, and being uneafy that I did not then make my appearance, he made inquiry after me; and, having found where I was, immediately came to me. As foon as the good man faw me fo cut and mangled, he could not forbear weeping; he foon got me out of jail to his lodgings, and immediately fent for the best doctors in the place, who at first declared it as their opinion that I could not recover. My captain on this went to all the lawyers in the town

fown for their advice, but they told him they could do nothing for me as I was a negro. He then went to Dr. Perkins, the hero who had vanquished me, and menaced him, swearing he would be revenged of him, and challenged him to fight. But cowardice is ever the companion of cruelty—and the doctor refused. However, by the skilfulness of one Doctor Brady of that place, I began at last to amend; but, although I was fo fore and bad with the wounds I had all over me that I could not rest in any posture, yet I was in more pain on account of the captain's uneafiness about me than I otherwise should have been. The worthy man nursed and watched me all hours of the night; and I was, through his attention and that of the doctor, able to get out of bed in about fixteen or eighteen days. All this time I was very much wanted on board, as I used frequently to go up and down the river for rafts, and other parts of our cargo, and flow them when the mate was fick or absent. In about four weeks I was able to go on duty; and in a fortnight after, having got in all our lading, our vessel set sail for Montserrat; and in less than three weeks we arrived there safe. towards the end of the year. This ended my adventures in 1764; for I did not leave Montferrat again till the beginning of the following year.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The author's disgust at the West Indies—Forms schemes to obtain his freedom—Ludicrous disappointment he and his Captain meet with in Georgia—At last, by several successful voyages, he acquires a sum of money sufficient to purchase it—Applies to his master, who accepts it, and grants his manumission, to his great joy—He afterwards enters as a freeman on board one of Mr. King's ships, and sails for Georgia—Impositions on free negroes as usual—His venture of turkies—Sails for Montserrat, and on his passage his friend the Captain falls ill and dies.

Every day now brought me nearer my freedom, and I was impatient till we proceeded again to sea, that I might have an opportunity of getting a sum large enough to purchase it. I was not long ungratisfied; for, in the beginning of the year 1765, my master bought another sloop, named the Nancy, the largest I had ever seen. She was partly laden, and was to proceed to Philadelphia; our Captain had his choice of three, and I was well pleased he chose this, which was the largest; for, from his having a large vessel, I had more room, and could carry a larger quantity

of goods with me. Accordingly, when we had delivered our old vessel, the Prudence, and compleated the lading of the Nancy, having made near three hundred per cent. by four barrels of pork I brought from Charlestown, I laid in as large a cargo as I could, trufting to God's providence to prosper my undertaking. With these views I sailed for Philadel-On our passage, when we drew near the land, I was for the first time surprised at the fight of fome whales, having never feen any fuch large fea monfters before; and, as we failed by the land, one morning I faw a puppy whale close by the veffel; it was about the length of a wherry boat, and it followed us all the day till we got within the Capes. We arrived fafe and in good time at Philadelphia, and I fold my goods there chiefly to the quakers. They always appeared to be a very honest discreet fort of people, and never attempted to impose on me; I therefore liked them, and ever after chose to deal with them in preference to any others.

One Sunday morning while I was here, as I was going to church, I chanced to pass a meeting house. The doors being open, and the house full of people, it excited my curiosity to go in. When I entered the house, to my great surprise, I saw a very tall woman standing in the midst of them, speaking in

an audible voice fomething which I could not understand. Having never seen any thing of this kind before, I flood and stared about me for some time, wondering at this odd scene. As foon as it was over, I took an opportunity to make inquiry about the place and people, when I was informed they were called Quak-I particularly asked what that woman I faw in the midst of them had said, but none of them were pleased to satisfy me; so I quitted them, and foon after, as I was returning, I came to a church crowded with people; the church-yard was full likewife, and a number of people were even mounted on ladders, looking in at the windows. I thought this a strange fight, as I had never feen churches, either in England or the West Indies, crowded in this manner before. I therefore made bold to ask some people the meaning of all this, and they told me the Rev. Mr. George Whitfield was preaching. I had often heard of this gentleman, and had wished to fee and hear him; but I had never before had an opportunity. I now therefore refolved to gratify myself with the sight, and pressed in amidst the multitude. When I got into the church I faw this pious man exhorting the people with the greatest fervour and earnestness, and sweating as much as I ever did while in flavery on Montferrat beach. I

was very much struck and impressed with this; I thought it strange I had never seen divines exert themselves in this manner before, and was no longer at a loss to account for the

thin congregations they preached to.

When we had discharged our cargo here and were loaded again, we left this fruitful land once more, and fet fail for Montferrat. My traffic had hitherto succeeded so well with me, that I thought, by felling my goods when we arrived at Montserrat, I should have enough to purchase my freedom. But as soon as our vessel arrived there, my master came on board, and gave orders for us to go to St. Eustatia, and discharge our cargo there, and from thence proceed for Georgia. I was much disappointed at this; but thinking, as usual, it was of no use to encounter with the decrees of fate, I submitted without repining, and we went to St. Eustatia. After we had discharged our cargo there we took in a live cargo, (as we call a cargo of flaves.) Here I fold my goods tolerably well; but, not being able to lay out all my money in this small island to as much advantage as in many other places, I laid out only part, and the remaineder I brought away with me neat. We failed from hence for Georgia, and I was glad when we got there, though I had not much reason to like the place from my last adventure adventure in Savannah; but I longed to get back to Montserrat and procure my freedom, which I expected to be able to purchase when I returned. As soon as we arrived here I waited on my careful doctor, Mr. Brady, to whom I made the most grateful acknowledgments in my power for his former kindness

and attention during my illness.

While we were here, an odd circumstance happened to the Captain and me, which difappointed us both a good deal. A filverfmith, whom we had brought to this place fome voyages before, agreed with the Captain to return with us to the West Indies, and promised at the same time to give the Captain a great deal of money, having pretended to take a liking to him, and being, as we thought, very rich. But while we stayed to toad our veffel this man was taken ill in a house where he worked, and in a week's time became very bad. The worfe he grew the more he used to speak of giving 'he Captain what he had promised him, so that he expected fomething confiderable from the death of this man, who had no wife or child, and he attended him day and night. I used also to go with the Captain, at his own defire, to attend him; especially when we saw there was no appearance of his recovery: and, in order to recompence me for my trouble, the Captain

tain promised me ten pounds, when he should get the man's property. I thought this would be of great service to me, although I had nearly money enough to purchase my freedom, if I should get safe this voyage to Montferrat. In this expectation I laid out above eight pounds of my money for a fuit of fuperfine clothes to dance in at my freedom, which I hoped was then at hand. We still continued to attend this man, and were with him even on the last day he lived, till very late at night, when we went on board. After we were got to bed, about one or two o'clock in the morning, the Captain was fent for, and informed the man was dead. On this he came to my bed, and, waking me, informed me of it, and defired me to get up and procure a light and immediately go with him. I told him I was very fleepy, and wished he would take somebody else with him; or else, as the man was dead, and could want no farther attendance, to let all things remain as they were till the next morning. 'No, no,' faid he, 'we will have the money to-night, I can-'not wait till to-morrow; so let us go.' Accordingly I got up and struck a light, and away we both went and faw the man as dead as we could wish. The Captain said he would give him a grand burial, in gratitude for the promised treasure; and defired that all the things

things belonging to the deceafed might be brought forth. Among others, there was a neft of trunks of which he had kept the keys whilst the man was ill, and when they were produced we opened them with no small eagerness and expectation; and as there were a great number within one another, with much impatience we took them one out of the other. At last, when we came to the smallest, and had opened it, we saw that it was full of papers, which we supposed to be notes; at the fight of which our hearts leaped for joy; and that instant the Captain, clapping his hands, cried out, 'Thank God, here it is.' But when we took up the trunk, and began to examine the supposed treasure and long-looked for bounty. (alas! alas! how uncertain and deceitful are all human affairs!) what had we found? While we thought we were embracing a fubstance we grasped an empty nothing. The whole amount that was in the nest of trunks was only one dollar and a half; and all that the man possessed would not pay for his cossin. Our fudden and exquisite joy was now fucceeded by as sudden and exquisite pain; and my Captain and I exhibited, for some time, most ridiculous figures—pictures of chagrin and disappointment! We went away greatly mortified, and left the deceased to do as well as he could for himself, as we had taken so good

good care of him when alive for nothing. We set sail once more for Montserrat, and arrived there fafe; but much out of humour with our friend the filversmith. When we had unladen the veffel, and I had fold my venture, finding myself master of about forty-feven pounds-I confulted my true friend, the Captain, how I should proceed in offering my mafter the money for my freedom. He told me to come on a certain morning, when he and my master would be at breakfast together. Accordingly, on that morning I went, and met the Captain there, as he had appointed. When I went in I made my obeifance to my master, and with my money in my hand, and many fears in my heart, I prayed him to be as good as his offer to me. when he was pleased to promise me my freedom as foon as I could purchase it. This speech seemed to confound him; he began to recoil; and my heart that instant sunk within me. 'What,' faid he, 'give you your free-'dom? Why, where did you get the money? ' Have you got forty-pounds sterling?' Yes, ' fir, I answered. How did you get it?' replied he. I told him, very honeftly. Captain then faid he knew I got the money very honeftly and with much industry, and that I was particularly careful. On which my master replied, I got money much faster than

than he did; and faid he would not have made me the promise he did if he had thought I should have got money so soon. 'Come, come, faid my worthy Captain, clapping my mafter on the back, 'Come, Robert, (which was his name) I think you must let ' him have his freedom; -you have laid your ' money out very well; you have received good interest for it all this time, and here is now the principal at last. I know Gustavus has earned you more than an hundred , a-year, and he will still fave you money, as he will not leave you :- Come, Robert, ' take the money.' My mafter then said, he would not be worse than his promise; and, taking the money, told me to go to the Secretary at the Register Office; and get my manumission drawn up. These words of my mafter were like a voice from heaven to me; in an inftant all my trepidation was turned into unutterable blifs; and I most reverently bowed myself with gratitude, unable to express my feelings, but by the overflowing of my eyes, and a heart replete with thanks to God; while my true and worthy friend the Captain congratulated us both with a peculiar degree of heartfelt pleasure. As soon as the first transports of my joy were over, and that I had expressed my thanks to these my worthy friends in the best manner I was able, I rose with

with a heart full of affection and reverence. and left the room, in order to obey my mafter's joyful mandate of going to the Register Office. As I was leaving the house I called to mind the words of the Pfalmift, in the 126th Pfalm, and like him, 'I glorified God ' in my heart, in whom I trusted.' words had been impressed on my mind from the very day I was forced from Deptford to the present hour, and I now saw them, as I thought, fulfilled and verified. My imagination was all rapture as I flew to the Regifter Office; and, in this respect, like the apostle Peter * (whose deliverance from prison was fo fudden and extraordinary, that he thought he was in a vision) I could scarcely believe I was awake. Heavens! who could do justice to my feelings at this moment? Not conquering heroes themselves, in the midst of a triumph—Not the tender mother who has just regained her long-lost infant. and presses it to her heart-Not the weary hungry mariner, at the fight of the defired friendly port—Not the lover, when he once more embraces his beloved mistress, after she has been ravished from his arms!-All within my breaft was tumult, wildness, and delirium! My feet scarcely touched the ground, for they were winged with joy, and, like Elijah, as he rose to Heaven, they were with lightning fped as I went on. Every one I met I told of my happiness, and blazed about the virtue of my amiable master and captain.

When I got to the office and acquainted the Register with my errand, he congratulated me on the occasion, and told me he would draw up my manumission for half price, which was a guinea. I thanked him for his kindness; and, having received it and paid him, I hastened to my master to get him to fign it, that I might be fully released. cordingly he figned the manumission that day; fo that, before night, I who had been a flave in the morning, trembling at the will of another, was become my own master, and completely free. I thought this was the happiest day I had ever experienced; and my joy was still heightened by the blessings and prayers of many of the fable race, particularly the aged, to whom my heart had ever been attached with reverence.

As the form of my manumission has something peculiar in it, and expresses the absolute power and dominion one man claims over his fellow, I shall beg leave to present it before my readers at full length:

Montferrat.—To all men unto whom these presents shall come: I Robert King, of the parish

parish of St. Anthony in the faid island, merchant, fend greeting: Know ye, that I the aforesaid Robert King, for and in consideration of the fum of feventy pounds current money of the faid island, to me in hand paid, and to the intent that a negro man flave, named Gustavus Vasa, shall and may become free, have manumitted, emancipated, enfranchifed, and fet free, and by these presents do manumit, emancipate, enfranchife, and fet free, the aforesaid negro man-slave, named Gustavus Vasa, for ever; hereby giving, granting, and releasing unto him, the said Gustavus Vasa, all right, title, dominion, sovereignty, and property, which, as lord and master over the aforesaid Gustavus Vasa, I had, or now have, or by any means whatfoever I may or can hereafter possibly have over him the aforesaid negro, for ever. In witness whereof I the abovefaid Robert King have unto these presents set my hand and seal, this tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

ROBERT KING.

Signed, fealed, and delivered in the prefence of Terry Legay, Montferrat.

Registered the within manumission, at full length, this eleventh day of July, 1766, in liber D.

TERRY LEGAY, Register.

In short, the fair as well as black people immediately styled me by a new appellation. to me the most desirable in the world, which was Freeman, and at the dances I gave, my Georgia superfine blue clothes made no indifferent appearance as I thought. Some of the fable females, who formerly stood aloof, now began to relax and appear less coy; but my heart was still fixed on London, where I hoped to be ere long. So that my worthy captain, and his owner my late mafter, finding that the bent of my mind was towards London, faid to me, 'We hope you won't leave us, but that you will still be with the vessels.' Here gratitude bowed me down; and none but the generous mind can judge of my feelings, struggling between inclination and duty. However, notwithstanding my wish to be in London, I obediently answered my benefactors that I would go in the vessel, and not leave them; and from that day I was entered on board as an able-bodied failor, at thirty-fix shillings per month, besides what perquisites I could make. My intention was to make a voyage or two, entirely to please these my honoured patrons; but I determined that the year following, if it pleased God, I would see Old England once more, and furprife my old master, Capt Pascal, who was hourly in my mind; for I still loved him, notwithstanding his usage to me, and I pleased myself with thinking of what he would fay when he faw what the Lord had done for me in so short a time, instead of being, as he might perhaps suppose, under the cruel yoke of some planter. With these kind of reveries I used often to entertain myself, and shorten the time till my return; and now, being as in my original free African state, I embarked on board the Nancy, after having got all things ready for our voyage. In this state of serenity we failed for St. Eustatia; and having smooth feas and calm weather, we foon arrived there: after taking our cargo on board, we proceeded to Savannah in Georgia, in August, 1766. While we were there, as usual, I used to go for the cargo up the rivers in boats; and on this business have been frequently beset by Alligators, which were very numerous on that coast; and shot many of them when they have been near getting into our boats; which we have with great difficulty fometimes prevented, and have been very much frightened at them. I have feen a young one fold in Georgia alive for fix-pence.

During our stay at this place, one evening a slave belonging to Mr. Read, a merchant of Savannah, came near our vessel, and began to use me very ill. I entreated him, with all the patience I was master of, to desist, as

K I knew

I knew there was little or no law for a free negro here; but the fellow, instead of taking my advice, persevered in his insults, and even struck me. At this I lost all temper. and fell on him and beat him foundly. next morning his mafter came to our veffel as we lay alongfide the wharf, and defired me to come ashore that he might have me slogged all round the town, for beating his negro flave. I told him he had infulted me, and had given the provocation, by first striking me. I had told my captain also the whole affair that morning, and wished him to have gone along with me to Mr. Read, to prevent bad confequences; but he said that it did not fignify, and if Mr. Read faid any thing he would make matters up, and defired me to go to work, which I accordingly did. Captain being on board when Mr. Read came and applied to him to deliver me up, he faid he knew nothing of the matter, I was a free man. I was aftonished and frightened at this, and thought I had better keep where I was than go ashore and be slogged round the town, without judge or jury. I therefore refused to stir; and Mr. Read went away, fwearing he would bring all the constables in the town, for he would have me out of the When he was gone, I thought his threat might prove too true to my forrow;

and I was confirmed in this belief, as well by the many instances I had seen of the treatment of free negroes, as from a fact that had happened within my own knowledge here a short time before.

There was a free black man, a carpenter, that I knew, who for asking a gentleman that he worked for, for the money he had earned, was put into gaol; and afterwards this oppressed man was sent from Georgia, with false accufations, of an intention to fet the gentleman's house on fire, and run away with his flaves. I was therefore much embarraffed. and very apprehensive of a flogging at least. I dreaded, of all things, the thoughts of being striped, as I never in my life had the marks of any violence of that kind. At that inftant a rage seized my soul, and for a little I determined to refift the first man that should offer to lay violent hands on me, or basely use me without a trial; for I would sooner die like a free man, than fuffer myfelf to be feourged by the hands of ruffians, and my blood drawn like a flave. The captain and others, more cautious, advised me to make hafte and conceal myself; for they said Mr. Read was a very spiteful man, and he would foon come on board with constables and take me. At first I refused this counsel, being determined to stand my ground; but at K 2 length,

length, by the prevailing entreaties of the captain and Mr. Dixon, with whom he lodged, I went to Mr. Dixon's house, which was a little out of the town, at a place called Yea-ma-chra. I was but just gone when Mr. Read, with the constables, came for me, and fearched the veffel; but, not finding me there, he swore he would have me dead or alive. I was secreted about five days; however, the good character which my captain always gave me, as well as some other gentlemen who also knew me, procured me some friends. At last some of them told my captain that he did not use me well, in suffering me thus to be imposed upon, and faid they would fee me redreffed, and get me on board some other wessel. My captain, on this, immediately went to Mr. Read, and told him, that ever fince I eloped from the veffel his work had been neglected, and he could not go on with her loading, himself and mate not being well; and as I had managed things on board for them, my absence must have retarded his voyage, and confequently hurt the owner; he therefore begged of him to forgive me, as he faid he never heard any complaint of me before, during the several years I had been with him. After repeated entreaties, Mr. Read faid I might go to hell, and that he would not meddle with me; on which my

my captain came immediately to me at his lodging, and, telling me how pleasantly matters had gone on, defired me to go on board.

Some of my other friends then asked him if he had got the constable's warrant from them; the captain said, No. On this I was desired by them to stay in the house; and they said they would get me on board of some other vessel before the evening. When the captain heard this he became almost distracted. He went immediately for the warrant, and, after using every exertion in his power, he at last got it from my hunters; but I had all the expences to pay.

After I had thanked all my friends for their kindness, I went on board again to my work, of which I had always plenty. We were in haste to complete our lading, and were to carry twenty head of cattle with us to the West Indies, where they are a very profitable arti-In order to encourage me in working; and to make up for the time I had loft, my captain promifed me the privilege of carrying two bullocks of my own with me; and this made me work with redoubled ardour. As foon as I had got the veffel loaded, in doing which I was obliged to perform the duty of the mate as well as my own work, and that the bullocks were near coming on board, I asked the captain leave to bring my two, ac-

K 3

cording .

cording to his promise; but, to my great furprife, he told me there was no room for them. I then asked him to permit me to take one; but he said he could-not. I was a good deal mortified at this usage, and told him I had no notion that he intended thus to impose on me; nor could I think well of any man that was so much worse than his word. On this we had fome disagreement, and I gave him to understand, that I intended to leave the vessel. At this he appeared to be very much dejected; and our mate who had been very fickly, and whose duty had long devolved upon me, advised him to persuade me to stay: in consequence of which he spoke very kindly to me, making many fair promises, telling me that, as the mate was so sickly, he could not do without me; and that, as the fafety of the vessel and cargo depended greatly upon me, he therefore hoped that I would not be offended at what had passed between us, and fwore he would make up all matters when we arrived in the West Indies; so I consented to flave on as before. Soon after this, as the bullocks were coming on board, one of them ran at the captain, and butted him fo furioufly in the breast, that he never recovered of the blow. In order to make me fome amends for his treatment about the bullocks, the captain now pressed me very much to take some turkeys.

keys, and other fowls, with me, and gave me liberty to take as many as I could find room for: but I told him he knew very well I had never carried any turkeys before, as I always thought they were fuch tender birds that they were not fit to cross the seas. However, he continued to press me to buy them for once; and, what feemed very furprifing to me, the more I was against it, the more he urged my taking them, infomuch that he enfured me from all losses that might happen by them, and I was prevailed on to take them; but I thought this very strange, as he had never acted fo with me before. This, and not being able to dispose of my paper-money in any other way, induced me at length to take four dozen. The turkeys, however, I was fo diffatisfied about that I determined to make no more voyages to this quarter, nor with this captain; and was very apprehensive that my free voyage would be the worst I had ever made.

We fet fail for Montferrat. The captain and mate had been both complaining of fickness when we failed, and as we proceeded on our voyage they grew worse. This was about November, and we had not been long at sea before we began to meet with strong northerly gales and rough seas; and in about seven or eight days all the bullocks were near being K 4

drowned, and four or five of them died. Our vessel, which had not been tight at first, was much less so now: and though we were but nine in the whole, including five failors and myself, yet we were obliged to attend to the pumps every half or three quarters of an hour. The captain and mate came on deck as often as they were able, which was now but seldom; for they declined so fast, that they were not well enough to make observations above four or five times the whole voyage. The whole care of the vessel rested therefore upon me, and I was obliged to direct her by mere dint of reason, not being able to work a traverse. The captain was now very forry he had not taught me navigation, and protested, if ever he should get well again, he would not fail to do fo; but in about seventeen days his illness increased fo much, that he was obliged to keep his bed, continuing sensible, however, till the last, constantly having the owner's interest at heart; for this just and benevolent man ever appeared much concerned about the welfare of what he was intrusted with. When this dear friend found the fymptoms of death approaching. he called me by my name; and, when I came to him, he asked (with almost his last breath) if he had ever done me any harm? 'God 'forbid I should think so,' I replied, 'I should

then be the most ungrateful of wretches to "the best of benefactors." While I was thus expressing my affection and forrow by his bedfide, he expired without faying another word, and the day following we committed his body to the deep. Every man on board loved him, and regretted his death; but I was exceedingly affected at it, and found that I did not know, till he was gone, the strength of my regard for him. Indeed I had every reafon in the world to be attached to him; for, besides that he was in general mild, affable, generous, faithful, benevolent, and just, he was to me a friend and father; and had it pleased Providence, that he had died but five months before, I verily believe I should not have obtained my freedom when I did; and it is not improbable that I might not have been able to get it at any rate afterwards.

The captain being dead, the mate came on the deck, and made such observations as he was able, but to no purpose. In the course of a few days more, the few bullocks that remained were found dead; but the turkeys I had, though on the deck, and exposed to so much wet and bad weather, did well, and I afterwards gained near three hundred per cent. on the sale of them; so that in the event it proved a happy circumstance for me that I had not bought the bullocks I intended, for

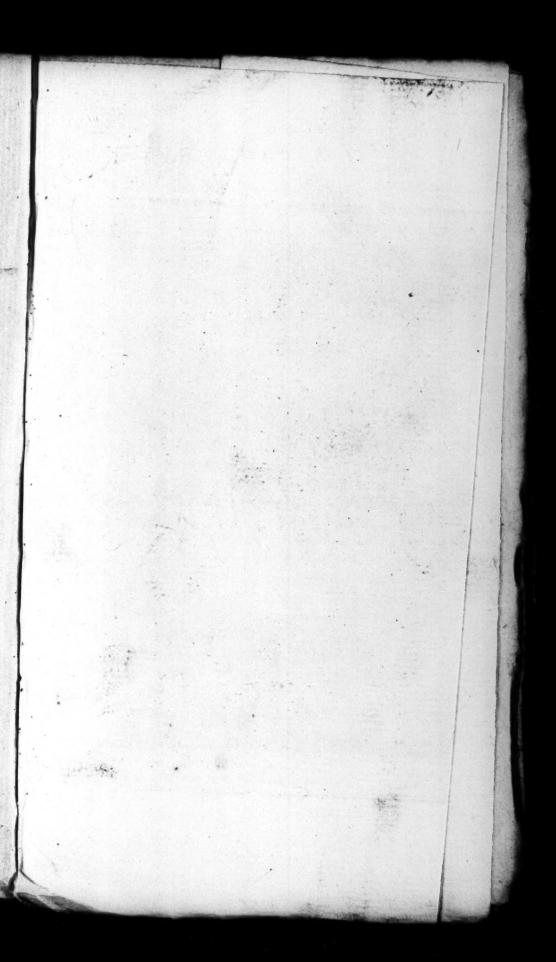
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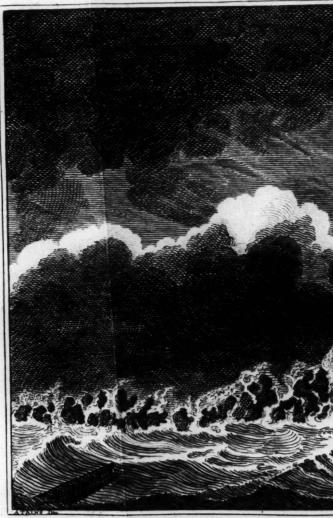
they must have perished with the rest; and I could not help looking on this otherwise trifling circumstance, as a particular providence of God, and was thankful accordingly. The care of the veffel took up all my time, and engaged my attention entirely. As we were now out of the variable winds, I thought I should not be much puzzled to hit upon the islands. I was persuaded I steered right for Antigua, which I wished to reach, as the nearest to us; and in the course of nine or ten days we made this island to our great joy; and the day after we came fafe to Montserrat.

Many were surprised when they heard of my conducting the floop into the port, and I now obtained a new appellation, and was called captain. This elated me not a little, and it was quite flattering to my vanity to be thus styled by as high a title as any freeman in this place possessed. When the death of the captain became known, he was much regretted by all who knew him; for he was a man univerfally respected. At the same time the fable captain loft no fame; for the fuccefs I had met with increased the affection of my

friends in no small measure.



BAHAM



Thus God speaketh once, yea twice, yet Man perceivethe sleep falleth upon Men in slumbrings upon the Bed

AMA BANKS. 1767.



ceiveth it not. In a Dream in a Vision of the Night, when dup Job. Ch. 33 Ver. 14 Bed; Then he openeth the Cars of Mon. & sealeth their instruction 15.16. \$29.830.

They ran the ship aground; and the fore part stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken by the violence of the waves.

ACTS XXVII. 41-

Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island; Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe. God, that it shall be even as it was told me.

ACTS XXVII. 26, 25.

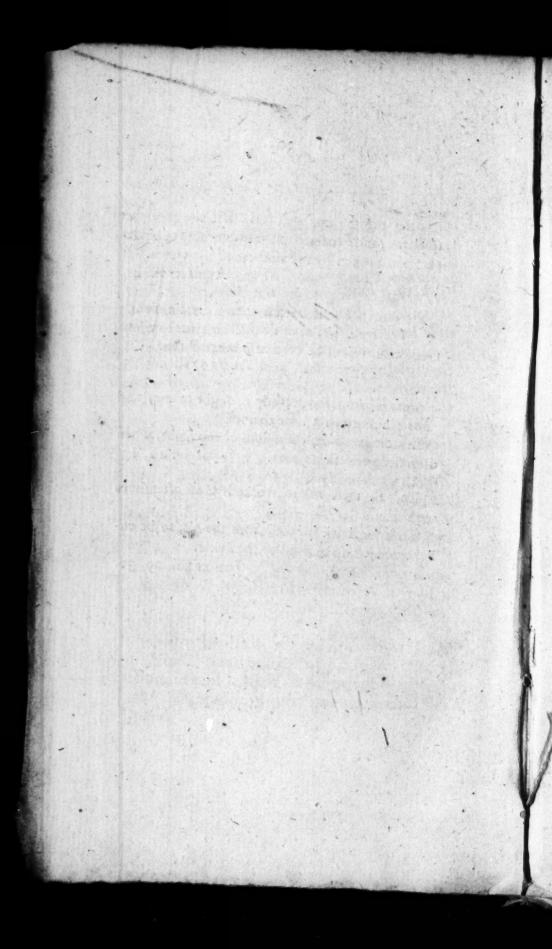
Now a thing was fecretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof.

In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men. Jos iv. 12, 13.

Lo, all these things worketh God oftentimes with man.

To bring back his foul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living.

Тов хххііі. 29, 30.



CHAP. VIII.

The author, to oblige Mr. King, once more embarks for Georgia in the Nancy-A new captain is appointed-They fail, and fleer a new courfe-Three remarkable dreams-The vessel is sbipwrecked on the Babama Bank, but the crew are preserved, principally by means of the author-He sets out from the island with the captain, in a small boat, in quest of a ship -Their diffress-Meet with a wrecker-Sail for Providence.—Are overtaken again by a terrible florm, and are all near perishing-Arrive at New Providence-The author, after some time, Sails from thence to Georgia-Meets with another storm, and is obliged to put back and refi! - Arrives at Georgia-Meets new impositions-Two white men attempt to kidnop bim-Officiates as a parson at a funeral ceremony-Bids adieu to Georgia, and Sails for Martinico.

As I had now, by the death of my captain lost my great benefactor and friend, I had little inducement to remain longer in the West Indies, except my gratitude to Mr. King,

King, which I thought I had pretty we charged in bringing back his veffel fat delivering his cargo to his fatisfact began to think of leaving this part world, of which I had been long tin returning to England, where my her always been; but Mr. King still pred very much to stay with his vessel; and done so much for me that I found myself to refuse his requests, and consented another voyage to Georgia, as the mate his ill state of health was quite useless vessel. Accordingly a new captain w pointed, whose name was William Phill old acquaintance of mine; and, having ted our vessel, and taken several sla board, we set sail for St. Eustatia, wh stayed but a few days: and on the January 1767, we steered for Georgia new captain boafted strangely of his navigating and conducting a veffel; consequence of this he steered a new several points more to the westward ever did before; this appeared to extraordinary.

On the fourth of February, which foon after we had got into our new condreamt the ship was wrecked amidst the and rocks, and that I was the means of

every one on board; and on the night following I dreamed the very same dream. These dreams however made no impression on my mind; and the next evening, it being my watch below, I was pumping the vessel a little after eight o'clock, just before I went off the deck, as is the cuftom; and being weary with the duty of the day, and tired at the pump, (for we made a good deal of water) I began to express my impatience, and uttered with an oath, 'Damn the veffel's bottom out.' But my conscience instantly smote me for the expression. When I left the deck I went to bed. and had fearcely fallen afleep when I dreamed the same dream again about the ship as I had dreamt the two preceding nights. At twelve o'clock the watch was changed: and, as I had always the charge of the captain's watch. I then went upon deck. At half after one in the morning the man at the helm faw fomething under the lee-beam that the sea washed against, and he immediately called to me that there was a grampus, and defired me to look at it. Accordingly I flood up and observed it for fome time; but when I saw the sea wash up against it again and again, I said it was not a fish but a rock. Being soon certain of this, I went down to the captain, and, with fome confusion, told him the danger we were King, which I thought I had pretty well difcharged in bringing back his vessel safe, and delivering his cargo to his fatisfaction. I began to think of leaving this part of the world, of which I had been long tired, and returning to England, where my heart had always been; but Mr. King still pressed me very much to stay with his vessel; and he had done so much for me that I found myself unable to refuse his requests, and confented to go another voyage to Georgia, as the mate, from his ill state of health was quite useless in the vessel. Accordingly a new captain was appointed, whose name was William Phillips, an old acquaintance of mine; and, having refitted our vessel, and taken several slaves on board, we set fail for St. Eustatia, where we stayed but a few days: and on the 30th of January 1767, we steered for Georgia. Our new captain boafted strangely of his skill in navigating and conducting a veffel; and in consequence of this he steered a new course. several points more to the westward than we ever did before; this appeared to me very extraordinary.

On the fourth of February, which was foon after we had got into our new course, I dreamt the ship was wrecked amidst the surfs and rocks, and that I was the means of saving

every

ne on board; and on the night followreamed the very same dream. These however made no impression on my d the next evening, it being my watch was pumping the veffel a little after clock, just before I went off the deck, be custom; and being weary with the the day, and tired at the pump, (for de a good deal of water) I began to my impatience, and uttered with an Damn the veffel's bottom out.' But iscience instantly smote me for the ex-. When I left the deck I went to bed. d searcely fallen asleep when I dreamed e dream again about the ship as I had the two preceding nights. At twelve the watch was changed: and, as I ays the charge of the captain's watch. went upon deck. At half after one in rning the man at the helm faw fomeider the lee-beam that the fea washed and he immediately called to me that as a grampus, and defired me to look Accordingly I flood up and observed me time; but when I faw the fea against it again and again, I said it a fish but a rock. Being soon certain went down to the captain, and, with nfusion, told him the danger we were ın,

in, and defired him to come upon deck immediately. He faid it was very well, and I went up again. As foon as I was upon deck, the wind, which had been pretty high, having abated a little, the veffel began to be carried fideways towards the rock, by means of the current. Still the captain did not appear. I therefore went to him again, and told him the vessel was then near a large rock, and defired he would come up with all speed. He faid he would, and I returned on the deck. When I was upon the deck again I faw we were not above a piftol that from the rock, and I heard the noise of the breakers all around us. I was exceedingly alarmed at this; and the captain having not yet come on the deck' I loft all patience; and, growing quite enraged, I ran down to him again, and asked him why he did not come up, and what he could mean by all this? "The breakers,' faid ' "I 'are round us, and the vessel is almost on the rock.' With that he came on the deck with me, and we tried to put the vessel about; and get her out of the current, but all to no purpose, the wind being very small. We then called all hands up immediately; and after a little we got up one end of a cable, and fastened it to the anchor. By this time the furf was foaming round us, and made a dreadful noise

on the breakers, and the very moment we let the anchor go the veffel struck against the rocks. One swell now succeeded another, as it were one wave calling on its fellow: the roaring of the billows increased, and, with one fingle heave of the swells, the floop was pierced and transfixed among the rocks! in a moment a scene of horror presented itself to my mind, fuch as I never had conceived or experienced before. All my fins stared me in the face; and especially, I thought that God had hurled his direful vengeance on my guilty head for curfing the vessel on which my life depended. My spirits at this forfook me, and I expected every moment to go to the bottom: I determined if I should still be faved that I would never fwear again. And in the midst of my distress, while the dreadful furfs were dashing with unremitting fury among the rocks, I remembered the Lord, though fearful that I was undeferving of forgiveness, and I thought that as he had often delivered he might yet deliver; and, calling to mind the many mercies he had fhewn me in times past, they gave me some small hope that he might still help me. I then began to think how we might be faved; and I believe no mind was ever like mine fo replete with inventions and confused with schemes, though

how to escape death I knew not. The captain immediately ordered the hatches to be nailed down on the flaves in the hold, where therewere above twenty, all of whom must unavoidably have perified if he had been obeyed. When he defired the men to nail down the hatches, I thought that my fin was the cause of this, and that God would charge me with these people's blood. This thought rushed upon my mind that inftant with fuch violence. that it quite overpowered me, and I fainted. I recovered just as the people were about to nail down the hatches; perceiving which, I defired them to stop. The captain then faid it must be done: I asked him why? He said that every one would endeavour to get into the boat, which was but fmall, and thereby we should be drowned; for it would not have carried above ten at the most. I could no longer restrain my emotion, and I told him he deserved drowning for not knowing how to navigate the vessel; and I believe the people would have toffed him over board if I had given them the least hint of it. However the hatches were not nailed down; and, as none of us could leave the vessel then on account of the darkness, and as we knew not where to go, and were convinced besides that the boat could not furvive the furfs, we all faid

faid we would remain on the dry part of the vessel, and trust to God till day-light appeared, when we should know better what to do.

I then advised to get the boat prepared against morning, and some of us began to set about it, but others abandoned all care of the ship and themselves, and fell to drinking. Our boat had a piece out of her bottom near two feet long, and we had no materials to mend her; however, necessity being the mother of invention, I took some pump leather and nailed it to the broken part, and plastered it over with tallow-greafe. And thus prepared, with the utmost anxiety of mind we watched for day-light, and thought every minute an hour till it appeared. At last it faluted our longing eyes, and kind Providence accompanied its approach with what was no small comfort to us; for the dreadful fwells began to fublide; and the next thing that we discovered to raise our drooping spirits, was a finall key or desolate island. about five or fix miles off; but a barrier foon presented itself; for there was not water enough for our boat to go over the rec's, and this threw us again into a fad consternation; but there was no alternative, we were therefore

fore obliged to put but few things in the boat at once; and, what was still worse, all of us were frequently under the necessity of getting out to drag and lift it over the reefs. This cost us much labour and fatigue; and, what was yet more distressing, we could not avoid having our legs cut and torn very much with the rocks. There were only four people that would work with me at the oars; and they confifted of three black men and a Dutch creole failor; and though we went with the boat five times that day. we had no others to affift us. But, had we not worked in this manner, I really believe the people could not have been faved; for not one of the white men did any thing to preferve their lives; indeed they foon got fo drunk that they were not able, but lay about the deck like fwine, fo that we were at last' obliged to lift them into the boat and carry them on shore by force. This want of assistance made our labour intolerably fevere; infomuch that, by going on fhore so often that day, the skin was partly stript off my hands:

However, we continued all the day to toil and strain our exertions, till we had brought all on board safe to the shore; so that out of

thirty-two people we lost not one.

My dream now returned upon my mind with all its force; it was fulfilled in every part; for our danger was the fame I had dreamt of; and I could not help looking on my felf as the principal instrument in effecting our deliverance: for, owing to some of our people getting drunk, the rest of us were obliged to double our exertions; and it was fortunate we did, for in a very little time longer the patch of leather on the boat would have been worn out, and she would have been no longer fit for service. Situated as we were. who could think that men should be so careless of the danger they were in? for, if the wind had but raifed the fwell as it was when the veffel struck, we must have bid a final farewell to all hopes of deliverance; and though I warned the people who were drinking, and entreated them to embrace the moment of deliverance, nevertheless they perfifted, as if not possessed of the least spark of reason. I could not help thinking, that, if any of these people had been loft, God would charge me with their lives, which, perhaps, was one cause of my labouring so hard for their preservation, and indeed every one of them afterwards feemed fo fensible of the fervice I had rendered them, that while we were on the key I was a kind of chieftain amongst

amongst them. I brought some limes, oranges, and lemons ashore; and, finding it to be a good foil where we were, I planted feveral of them as a token to any one that might be cast away hereafter. This key, as we afterwards found, was one of the Bahama islands, which confift of a cluster of large islands, with fmaller ones or keys, as they are called, interspersed among them. It was about a mile in circumference, with a white fandy beach running in a regular order along it. On that part of it where we first attempted to land there stood some very large birds, called flamingoes: these, from the reflection of the fun, appeared to us at a little distance as large as men; and, when they walked backwards and forwards, we could not conceive what they were: our captain fwore they were cannibals. This created a great panic among us; and we held a confultation how to act. The captain wanted to go to a key that was within fight, but a great way off; but I was against it, as in so doing we should not be able to fave all the people; 'And therefore,' faid I, let us go on shore here, and perhaps these cannibals may take to the water.' Accordingly we steered toward them; and when we approached them, to our very great joy and no less wonder, they walked off one after the other

other very deliberately; and at last they took slight and relieved us entirely from our fears. About the key there were turtles and several forts of fish in such abundance that we caught them without bait, which was a great relief to us after the salt provisions on board. There was also a large rock on the beach, about ten feet high, which was in the form of a punch-bowl at the top; this we could not help thinking Providence had ordained to supply us with rain-water; and it was something singular that, if we did not take the water when it rained, in some little time after it would turn as salt as sea-water.

Our first care, after refreshment, was to make ourselves tents to lodge in, which we did as well as we could with some fails we had brought from the ship. We then began to think how we might get from this place, which was quite uninhabited; and we determined to repair our boat, which was very much shattered, and to put to sea in quest of a ship or some inhabited island. It took us up however eleven days before we could get the boat ready for fea in the manner we wanted it, with a fail and other necessaries, When we had got all things prepared, the captain wanted me to flay on shore while he went to sea in quest of a vessel to take all the people

people off the key; but this I refused; and the captain and myself, with five more, set off in the boat towards New Providence. We had no more than two musket load of gun-powder with us if any thing should happen; and our stock of provisions consisted of three gallons of rum, four of water, some salt beef, some biscuit; and in this manner we

proceeded to fea.

On the fecond day of our voyage, we came to an island called Abbico, the largest of the Bahama islands. We were much in want of water; for by this time our water was expended, and we were exceedingly fatigued in pulling two days in the heat of the fun; and it being late in the evening we hauled the boat ashore to try for water and remain during the night: when we came ashore we fearched for water, but could find none. When it was dark, we made a fire around us for fear of the wild beafts, as the place was an entire thick wood, and we took it by turns to watch. In this fituation we found very little rest, and waited with impatience for the morning. As foon as the light appeared we fet off again with our boat, in hopes of finding affiftance during the day. We were now much dejected and weakened by pulling the boat for our fail was of no use, and we were almost

almost famished for want of fresh water to drink. We had nothing left to eat but falt beef, and that we could not use without water. In this fituation we toiled all day in fight of the island, which was very long; in the evening, feeing no relief, we made shore again, and fastened our boat. We then went to look for fresh water, being quite faint for the want of it; and we dug and fearched about for some all the remainder of the evening, but could not find one drop, fo that our dejection at this period became excessive, and our terror fo great, that we expected nothing but death to deliver us. We could not touch our beef, which was falt as brine. without fresh water; and we were in the greatest terror from the apprehension of wild beafts. When unwelcome night came we acted as on the night before; and the next morning we fet off again from the illand in hopes of feeing fome vessel. In this manner we toiled as well as we were able till four o'clock, during which we passed several keys, but could not meet with a ship; and, still famishing with thirst, went ashore on one of those keys again in hopes of finding some water. Here we found some leaves with a few drops of water on them, which we lapped with much eagerness; we then dug in feveral places, but without fuccefs. As we were digging holes in fearch of water there came forth fome very thick and black stuff; but none of us could touch it, except the poor Dutch creole, who drank above a quart of it as eagerly as if it had been wine. tried to catch fish, but could not; and we now began to repine at our fate, and abandon ourselves to despair; when, in the midst of our murmuring, the captain all at once cried out, 'A fail! a fail! a fail!' This gladdening found was like a reprieve to a convict, and we all instantly turned to look at it; but in a little time some of us began to be afraid it was not a fail. However, at a venture, we embarked and steered after it; and, in half an hour, to our unspeakable joy, we plainly faw that it was a veffel. At this our drooping spirits revived, and we made towards her with all the speed imaginable. When we came near to her, we found fhe was a little floop, about the fize of a Gravefend hoy, and quite full of people; a circumstance which we could not make out the meaning of. Our captain who was a Welchman, fwore that they were pirates, and would kill us. I faid, be that as it might, we must board her if we were to die by it; and, if they should not receive us kindly,

we must oppose them as well as we could; for there was no alternative between their perishing and ours. This counsel was immediately taken; and I really believe that the captain, myself, and the Dutchman, would then have faced twenty men. We had two cutlasses and a musquet, that I brought, in the boat; and in this situation we rowed alongside, and immediately boarded her. I believe there were about forty hands on board; but how great was our surprize, as soon as we got on board, to find that the major part of them were in the same predicament as ourselves.

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They belonged to a whaling schooner that was wrecked two days before us about nine miles to the north of our vessel. When she was wrecked fome of them had taken to their boats and had left some of their people and property on a key, in the fame manner as we had done; and were going, like us, to New Providence in quest of a ship, when they met with this little floop, called a wrecker; their employment in those seas being to look after wrecks. They were then going to take the remainder of the people belonging to the schooner; for which the wrecker was to have all things belonging to the vessel, and likewise their people's help to L 2

get what they could out of her, and were then to carry the crew to New Providence.

We told the people of the wrecker the condition of our vessel, and we made the same agreement with them as the schooner's people; and on their complying, we begged of them to go to our key directly, because our people were in want of water. They agreed, therefore, to go along with us first; and in two days we arrived at the key, to the inexpressible joy of the people that we had left behind, as they had been reduced to great extremities for want of water in our Luckily for us, the wrecker had now more people on board than the could carry or victual for any moderate length of time; they therefore hired the schooner's people to work on the wreck, and we left them our boat, and embarked for New Providence.

Nothing could have been more fortunate than our meeting with this wrecker, for New Providence was at fuch a distance that we never could have reached it in our boat. The island of Abbico was much longer than we expected; and it was not till after failing for three or four days that we got fafe to the farther end of it, towards New Providence. When we arrived there we watered, and got

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a good many lobsters and other shell-fish; which proved a great relief to us, as our provisions and water were almost exhausted. We then proceeded on our voyage; but the day after we left the island, late in the evening, and whilst we were yet amongst the Bahama keys, we were overtaken by a violent gale of wind, fo that we were obliged to cut away the mast. The vessel was very near foundering; for the parted from her anchors, and ftruck feveral times on the shoals. Here we expected every minute that the would have gone to pieces, and each moment to be our last; so much so, that my old captain and fickly uscless mate, and feveral others, fainted; and death stared us in the face on every side. All the swearers on board now began to call on the God of Heaven to affift them: and, fure enough, beyond our comprehension he did assist us, and in a miraculous manner delivered us! In the very height of our extremity the wind lulled for a few minutes; and, although the fwell was high beyond expression, two men, who were expert fwimmers, attempted to go to the buoy of the anchor, which we still faw on the water, at some distance, in a little punt that belonged to the wrecker, which was not large enough to carry more

than two. She filled at different times in their endeavours to get into her alonglide of our veffel; and they faw nothing but death before them, as well as we; but they faid they might as well die that way as any other. A coil of very fmall rope, with a little buoy, was put in along with them; and, at last, with great hazard, they got the punt clear from the veffel; and these two intrepid water heroes paddled away for life towards the buoy of the anchor. Our eyes were fixed on them all the time, expecting every minute to be their last: and the prayers of all those that remained in their fenses were offered up to God, on their behalf, for a speedy deliverance, and for our own, which depended on them; and he heard and answered us! These two men at last reached the buoy; and, having fastened the punt to it, they tied one end of their rope to the small buoy that they had in the punt, and fent it adrift towards the veffel. We on board observing this, threw out boat hooks and leads fastened to lines, in order to catch the buoy: at last we caught it, and fastened a hawser to the end of the fmall rope; we then gave them a fign to pull, and they pulled the hawfer to them, and fastened it to the buoy: which being done we hauled for our lives; and, through

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through the mercy of God, we got again from the shoals into deep water, and the punt got fafe to the vessel. It is impossible for any to conceive our heart-felt joy at this fecond deliverance from ruin, but those who have fuffered the fame hardships. Those whose strength and senses were gone, came to themselves, and were now as elated as they were before depressed. Two days after this the wind ceased, and the water became The punt then went on shore, and we cut down some trees; and having found our mast and mended it, we brought it on board, and fixed it up. As foon as we had done this we got up the anchor, and away we went once more for New Providence, which in three days more we reached fafe, after having been above three weeks in a fituation in which we did not expect to escape with life. The inhabitants here were very kind to us; and, when they learned our fituation, shewed us a great deal of hofpitality and friendship. Soon after this every one of my old fellow-fufferers that were free parted from us, and shaped their course where their inclination led them. One merchant, who had a large floop, feeing our condition, and knowing we wanted to go to Georgia, told four of us that his I. 4

veffel was going there; and, if we would work on board and load her, he would give us our passage free. As we could not get any wages whatever, and found it very hard to get off the place, we were obliged to confent to his proposal; and we went on board and helped to load the floop, though we had only our victuals allowed us. When she was entirely loaded, he told us she was going to Jamaica first, where we must go if we went in her. This, however, I refused; but my fellow-sufferers not having any money to help themselves with, necesfity obliged them to accept of the offer, and to fleer that course, though they did not like it.

We stayed in New Providence about seventeen or eighteen days; during which time I met with many friends, who gave me encouragement to stay there with them, but I declined it; though, had not my heart been sixed on England, I should have stayed, as I liked the place extremely, and there were some free black people here who were very happy, and we passed our time pleasantly together, with the melodious sound of the catguts, under the lime and lemon trees. At length Captain Phillips hired a sloop to carry him and some of the slaves

flaves that he could fell to Georgia; and I agreed to go with him in this vessel, meaning now to take my farewell of that place. When the veffel was ready we all embarked; and I took my leave of New Providence, not without regret. We failed about four o'clock in the morning, with a fair wind, for Georgia; and, about eleven o'clock the fame morning, a fudden and fhort gale sprung up and blew away most of our fails; and, as we were still among the keys, in a very few minutes it dashed the sloop against the rocks. Luckily for us the water was deep; and the fea was not so angry, but that, after having for fome time laboured hard, and being many in number, we were faved through God's mercy, and, by using our greatest exertions we got the veffel off. The next day we returned to Providence, where we foon got her again refitted. Some of the people fwore that we had fpells fet upon us by fomebody in Montserrat; and others that we had witches and wizzards amongst the poor helpless flaves; and that we never should arrive safe at Georgia. But thefe things did not deter me; I faid, 'Let us again face the winds and feas, and fwear not. but trust to God, and he will deliver us.' L 5

We therefore once more fet fail; and, with hard labour, in feven days time arrived fafe

at Georgia.

After our arrival we went up to the town of Savannah; and the fame evening I went to a friend's house to lodge, whose name was Mosa, a black man. We were very happy at meeting each other; and after fupper we had a light till it was between nine and ten o'clock at night. About that time the watch or patrol came by; and difcerning a light in the house, they knocked at the door: we opened it; and they came in and fat down and drank fome punch with us: they also begged some limes of me, as they understood I had some, which I readily gave them. A little after this they told me I must go to the watch-house with them -this furprized me a good deal, after our kindness to them; and I asked them, Why fo? They faid that all negroes who had a light in their houses after nine o'clock were to be taken into custody, and either pay fome dollars or be flogged. Some of those people knew that I was a free man; but, as the man of the house was not free, and had his master to protect him, they did not take the same liberty with him they did with me. I told them that I was a free man and just

just arrived from Providence; that we were not making any noise, and that I was not a stranger in that place, but was very well known there: 'Besides,' faid I, 'what will you 'do with me ?- 'That you shall see,' replied they, ' but you must go to the watchhouse with us.' Now whether they meant to get money from me or not I was at a loss to know; but I thought immediately of the oranges and limes at Santa Cruz; and feeing that nothing would pacify them, I went with them to the watch-house, where I remained during the night. Early the next morning these impoling rustian's flogged a negro-man and woman that they had in the watch-house, and then they told me that I must be slogged too. I asked why? and if there was no law for free men? and told them if there was I would have it put in force against them. -But this only exasperated them the more, and they instantly fwore they would serve me as Doctor Perkins had done; and were going to lay violent hands upon me; when one of them, more humane than the reft, faid that as I was a free man they could not justify stripping me by law. I then immediately fent for Dr. Brady, who was known to be an honest and worthy man; and on his coming to my affiftance they let me This go.

This was not the only difagreeable incident I met with while I was in this place; for, one day, while I was a little way out of the town of Savannah, I was befet by two white men, who meant to play their usual tricks with me in the way of kidnapping.— As foon as these men accosted me, one of them faid to the other, ' This is the very · fellow we are looking for, that you loft :' and the other fwore immediately that I was the identical person. On this they made up to me, and were about to handle me; but I told them to be still and keep off, for I had feen those kind of tricks played upon other free blacks, and they must not think to ferve me fo. At this they paufed a little, and one faid to the other-it will not do; and the other answered that I talked too good English. I replied, I believed I did; and I had also with me a revengeful stick equal to the occasion; and my mind was likewise good. Happily however it was not used; and after we had talked together a little in this manner, the rogues left me.

I stayed in Savannah some time, anxiously trying to get to Montserrat once more to see Mr. King, my old master, and then to take a final farewell of the American quarter of the globe. At last I met with a sloop

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called the Speedwell, Captain John Bunton, which belonged to Grenada, and was bound to Martinico, a French island, with a cargo of rice, and I shipped myself on board of her.

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Before I left Georgia, a black woman who had a child lying dead, being very tenacious of the church burial fervice, and not able to get any white person to perform it, applied to me for that purpose. I told her I was no parson; and besides, that the service over the dead did not affect the foul. This however did not fatisfy her; she still urged me very hard: I therefore complied with her earnest entreaties, and at last confented to act the parson for the first time in my life. As the was much respected, there was a great company both of white and black people at the grave. I then accordingly affumed my new vocation, and performed the funeral ceremony to the fatisfaction of all present; after which I bade adieu to Georgia, and failed for Martinico.

CHAP. IX.

The author arrives at Martinico—Meets with new difficulties—Gets to Montserrat, where he takes leave of his old Master, and sails for England—Meets Captain Pascal—Learns the French-horn—Hires himself with Doctor Irving, where he learns to freshen sea water—Leaves the Doctor, and goes a voyage to Turkey and Portugal; and afterwards goes a voyage to Grenada, and another to Jamaica—Returns to the Doctor, and they embark together on a voyage to the North Pole, with the Hon. Capt. Phipps—Some account of that voyage, and the dangers the author was in—He returns to England.

I THUS took a final leave of Georgia; for the treatment I had received in it disgusted me very much against the place; and when I lest it and sailed for Martinico I determined never more to revisit it. My new captain conducted his vessel safer than my former one; and, after an agreeable voyage, we got safe to our intended port. While I was on this island I went about a good deal, and found it very pleasant: in particular I admired the town of St. Pierre, which vith

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is the principal one in the island, and built more like an European town than any I had feen in the West Indies. In general also, flaves were better treated, had more holidays, and looked better than those in the English islands. After we had done our business here, I wanted my discharge, which was necessary; for it was then the month of May, and I wished much to be at Montferrat to bid farewell to Mr. King, and all my other friends there, in time to fail for Old England in the July fleet. But, alas! I had put a great stumbling block in my own way, by which I was near losing my passage that season to England. I had lent my captain fome money, which I now wanted to enable me to profecute my intentions. This I told him; but when I applied for it, though I urged the necessity of my occasion, I met with fo much shuffling from him, that I began at last to be afraid of loling my money, as I could not recover it by law; for I have already mentioned, that throughout the West Indies no black man's testimony is admitted, on any occasion, against any white person whatever, and therefore my own oath would have been of no use. I was obliged, therefore, to remain with him till he might be disposed to return

return it to me. Thus we failed from Martinico for the Grenades. I frequently preffing the captain for my money to no purpose; and, to render my condition worse, when we got there, the captain and his owners quarrelled; fo that my fituation became daily more inksome: for besides that we on board had little or no victuals allowed us and I could not get my money nor-wages; as I could then have gotten my passage free to Montseriat had I been able to accept it. The worst of all was, that it was growing late in July, and the thips in the iflands must fail by the 26th of that month. At last, however, with a great many entreaties, I got my money from the captain, and took the first vessel I could meet with for St Lustatia. From thence I went in another to Baffeterre in St. Kitts, where I arrived on the 19th of July. On the 22d, having met with a veffel bound to Montferrat, I wanted to go in her; but the captain and others would not take me on board until I should advertise myself, and give notice of my going off the island. I told them of my haste to be in Montserrat, and that the time then would not admit of advertising, it being late in the evening, and the veffel about to fail; but he infifted it was necessary, and otherwife

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otherwise he said he would not take me.-This reduced me to great perplexity; for if I should be compelled to submit to this degrading necessity, which every black freeman is under, of advertising himself like a flave, when he leaves an island, and which I thought a gross imposition upon any freeman, I feared I should miss that opportunity of going to Montferrat, and then I could not get to England that year. The veffel was just going off, and no time could be loft: I immediately therefore set about, with a heavy heart to try who I could get to befriend me in complying with the demands of the captain. Luckily I found, in a few minutes, some gentlemen of Montferrat whom I knew; and, having told them my fituation, I requested their friendly affistance in helping me off the illand. Some of them, on this, went with me to the captain, and fatisfied him of my freedom; and to my very great joy, he defired me to go on board. We then fet fail, and the next day, 23d, I arrived at the wished-for place, after an absence of six months, in which I had more than once experienced the delivering hand of Providence, when all human means of escaping destruction feemed hopeless. I saw my friends with a gladness

gladness of heart which was encreased by my absence and the dangers I had escaped, and I was received with great friendship by them all, but particularly by Mr. King, to whom I related the fate of his floop, the Nancy, and the causes of her being wrecked. I now learned with extreme forrow, that his house was washed away during my absence, by the bursting of a pond at the top of a mountain that was opposite the town of Plymouth. It fwept great part of the town away, and Mr. King loft a great deal of property from the inundation, and nearly his life. When I told him I intended to go to London that feafon, and that I had come to visit him before my departure, the good man expressed a great deal of affection for me, and forrow that I should leave him, and warmly advised me to stay there; infifting, as I was much respected by all the gentlemen in the place, that I might do very well, and in a short time have land and flaves of my own. I thanked him for this instance of his friendship; but, as I wished very much to be in London, I declined remaining any longer there, and begged he would excuse me. I then requested he would be kind enough to give me a certificate of my behaviour while in his fervice, which he very readily complied with, and gave me the following:

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Montserrat, January 26, 1767.

'The bearer hereof, Gustavus Vasa, was my slave for upwards of three years, during which he has always behaved himself well, and discharged his duty with honesty and assiduity.

ROBERT KING.

' To all to whom this may concern.'

Having obtained this, I parted from my kind master, after many sincere professions of gratitude and regard, and prepared for my departure for London. I immediately agreed to go with one Capt. John Hamer, for feven guineas (the paffage to London), on board a ship called the Andromache; and on the 24th and 25th, I had free dances, as they are called, with some of my friends and countrymen, previous to my fetting off; after which I took leave of all my friends, and on the 26th I embarked for London, exceedingly glad to fee myfelf once more on board of a ship; and still more so, in steering the course I had long wished for. With a light heart I bade Montserrat farewell,

farewell, and never had my feet on it fince; and with it I bade adieu to the found of the cruel whip, and all other dreadful infiruments of torture; adieu to the offensive fight of the violated chastity of the fable females, which has too often accosted my eyes; adieu to oppressions (although to me less severe than most of my countrymen); and adieu to the angry howling, dashing surfs. I wished for a grateful and thankful keart to praise the Lord God on high for all his mercies! in this ecstasy I steered the

fhip all night.

We had a most prosperous voyage, and, at the end of feven weeks, arrived at Cherry-Garden stairs. Thus were my longing eyes once more gratified with a fight of London, after having been absent from it above four years. I immediately received my wages, and I never had earned feven guineas fo quick in my life before; I had thirty-feven guineas in all, when I got cleared of the ship. I now entered upon a scene quite new to me, but full of hope. In this fituation my first thoughts were to look out for some of my former friends, and amongst the first of those were the Miss Guerins; As foon as I had regaled myfelf I went in quest of those kind ladies, whom I was very impatient

impatient to fee; and, with some difficulty and perseverance, I found them at May'shill, Greenwich. They were most agreeably furprifed to fee me, and I quite overjoyed at meeting with them. I told them my history, at which they expressed great wonder, and freely acknowledged it did their cousin, Capt. Pascal, no honour. He then visited there frequently; and I met him four or five days after in Greenwich park. When he faw me he appeared a good deal furprised, and asked me how I came back? I answered, 'In a ship.' To which he replied dryly, 'I suppose you did ' not walk back to London on the water.' As I faw, by his manner, that he did not feem to be forry for his behaviour to me, and that I had not much reason to expect any favour from him, I told him that he had used me very ill, after I had been such a faithful servant to him for so many years; on which, without faying any more, he turned about and went away. A few days after this I met Capt. Pascal at Miss Guerin's house, and asked him for my prize-money. He faid there was none due to me; for, if my prize-money had been 10,000l. he had a right to it all. I told him I was informed otherwise: on which he bade me defiance: and

and in a bantering tone, defired me to commence a law-fuit against him for it: 'There 'are lawyers enough,' faid he, 'that will take ' the cause in hand, and you had better try ' it.' I told him then that I would try it, which enraged him very much; however, out of regard to the ladies, I remained still, and never made any farther demand of my right. Some time afterwards these friendly ladies asked me what I meant to do with myfelf, and how they could affift me. I thanked them, and faid, if they pleafed I would be their fervant; but if not, I had thirtyfeven guineas, which would fupport me for fome time, and I would be much obliged to them to recommend me to some person who would teach me a business whereby I might earn my living. They answered me very politely, that they were forry it did not fuit them to take me as their fervant, and asked me what business I should like to learn? I faid, hair dreffing. They then promised to assist me in this; and soon after they recommended me to a gentleman whom I had known before, one Capt. O'Hara, who treated me with much kindnefs, and procured me a mafter, a hairdreffer, in Coventry-court, Hay-market, with whom he placed me. I was with this man from September till the February following.

following. In that time we had a neighbour in the fame court who taught the French-horn. He used to blow it so well that I was charmed with it, and agreed with him to teach me to blow it. Accordingly he took me in hand, and began to instruct me, and I foon learned all the three parts. I took great delight in blowing on this instrument, the evenings being long; and befides that I was fond of it, I did not like to be idle, and it filled up my vacant hours innocently. At this time also I agreed with the Rev. Mr. Gregory, who lived in the fame court, where he kept an academy and an evening-school, to improve me in arithmetic. This he did as far as barter and alligation; fo that all the time I was there I was entirely employed. In February 1768, I hired myself to Dr. Charles Irving, in Pall-mall, fo celebrated for his fuccessful experiments in making fea-water fresh; and here I had plenty of hair dreffing to im-prove my hand. This gentleman was an excellent mafter; he was exceedingly kind and good tempered; and allowed me in the evenings to attend my schools, which I efteemed a great bleffing; therefore I thanked God and him for it, and used all my diligence to improve the opportunity. diligence and attention recommended me to the

the notice and care of my three preceptors, who on their parts bestowed a great deal of pains in my instruction, and besides were all very kind to me. My wages, however, which were by two thirds less than ever I had in my life (for I had only 12l. per annum) I foon found would not be fufficient to defray this extraordinary expence of mafters, and my own necessary expences; my old thirty-feven guineas had by this time worn all away to one. I thought it best, therefore, to try the fea again in quest of more money, as I had been bred to it, and had hitherto found the profession of it successful. I had also a very great desire to fee Turkey, and I now determined to gratify it. Accordingly, in the month of May, 1768, I told the doctor my wish to go to sea again, to which he made no opposition; and we parted on friendly terms. The fame day I went into the city in quest of a master. I was extremely for tunate in my enquiry; for I foon heard of a gentleman who had a ship going to Italy and Turkey, and he wanted a man who could dress hair well. I was overjoyed at this, and went immediately on board of his thip, as I had been directed, which I found to be fitted up with great tafte, and I already foreboded no small pleafure in failing in her. Not finding the gentleman

gentleman on board, I was directed to his lodgings, where I met with him the next day, and gave him a specimen of my dreffing. He liked it so well that he hired me immediately, fo that I was perfectly happy; for the ship, master, and voyage, were entirely to my mind. The ship was called the Delawar, and my master's name was John Jolly, a neat fmart good humoured man, just such an one as I wished to serve. We failed from England in July following, and our voyage was extremely pleafant. We went to Villa Franca, Nice, and Leghorn; and in all these places I was charmed with the richness and beauty of the countries, and ftruck with the elegant buildings with which they abound. We had always in them plenty of extraordinary good wines and rich fruits, which I was very fond of; and I had frequent occasions of gratifying both my taste and curiosity; for my captain always lodged on shore in those places, which afforded me opportunities to fee the country around. I also learned navigation of the mate, which I was very fond of. When we left Italy we had delightful failing among the Archipelago islands, and from thence to Smyrna in Turkey. This is a very ancient city; the houses are built of stone, and most of them have graves adjoining

joining to them; fo that they fometimes present the appearance of church-yards. Provisions are very plentiful in this city, and good wine less than a penny a pint. The grapes, pomegranates, and many other fruits, were also the richest and largest I ever faw or tafted. The natives are well looking and ftrong made, and treated me always with great civility. In general I believe they are fond of black people; and feveral of them gave me prefling invitations to itay amongst them, although they kept the Franks, or Christians, separate, and do not fuffer them to dwell immediately amongst them. I was assonished in not seeing women in any of their shops, and very rarely any in the streets; and whenever I did they were covered with a veil from head to foot, fo that I could not fee their faces. except when any of them out of curiofity uncovered them to look at me, which they fometimes did. I was furprifed to fee how the Greeks are, in some measure, kept under by the Turks, as the negroes are in the West Indies by the white people. The less refined Greeks, as I have already hinted, dance here in the fame manner as we do in our nation.

On the whole, during our stay here, which was about five months, I liked the place and the the Turks extremely well. I could not help observing one very remarkable circumstance there: the tails of the sheep are flat, and so very large, that I have known the tail even of a lamb to weigh from eleven to thirteen pounds. The fat of them is very white and rich, and is excellent in puddings, for which it is much used. Our ship being at length richly loaded with silk, and other

articles, we failed for England.

In May 1769, foon after our return from Turkey, our ship made a delightful voyage to Oporto in Portugal, where we arrived at the time of the carnival. On our arrival, there were fent on board of us thirty-fix articles to observe, with very heavy penalties if we should break any of them; and none of us even dared to go on board any other vesselor on shore, till the Inquisition had fent on board and fearched for every thing illegal, especially bibles. All we had were produced, and certain other things were fent on shore till the ships were going away; and any person in whose custody a bible was found concealed, was to be imprifoned and flogged, and fent into flavery for ten years. I faw here many very magnificent fights, particularly thegarden of Eden, where many of the clergy and laity went in procession in their several orders with the M 2 hoft,

host, and sung Te Deum. I had a great curiosity to go into some of their churches, but could not gain admittance without using the necessary sprinkling of holy water at my entrance. From curiosity, and a wish to be holy, I therefore complied with this ceremony, but its virtues were lost upon me, for I found myself nothing the better for it. This place abounds with plenty of all kinds of provisions. The town is well built and pretty, and commands a sine prospect. Our ship having taken in a load of wine, and other commodities, we failed for London,

and arrived in July following.

Our next voyage was to the Mediterranean. The ship was again got ready, and we failed in September for Genoa. This is one of the finest cities I ever faw; some of the edifices were of beautiful marble, and made a most noble appearance; and many had very curious fountains before them. The churches were rich and magnificent, and curiously adorned both in the inside and But all this grandeur was in my eyes difgraced by the galley flaves, whose condition both there and in other parts of Italy is truly piteous and wretched. After we had stayed there some weeks, during which we bought many different things we wanted, and got them very cheap, we failed to Naples,

ples, a charming city, and remarkably clean. The bay is the most beautiful I ever saw; the moles for shipping are excellent. thought it extraordinary to fee grand operas acted here on Sunday nights, and even attended by their majesties. I too, like these great ones, went to those fights, and vainly ferved God in the day while I thus ferved mammon effectually at night. While we remained here, there happened an eruption of mount Vefuvius, of which I had a perfect view. It was extremely awful; and we were fo near that the ashes from it used to be thick on our deck. After we had transacted our business at Naples, we failed with a fair wind once more for Smyrna, where we arrived in December. A feralkier, or officer, took a liking to me here, and wanted me to ftay, and offered me two wives; however I refused the temptation, thinking one was as much as fome could manage, and more than others would venture on. The merchants here travel in caravans or large companies. I have feen many caravans from India, with some hundreds of camels, laden with different goods. The people of these caravans are quite brown. Among other articles, they brought with them a great quantity of locusts, which are a kind of pulse, sweet and pleasant to the M 3 palate. palate, and in shape resembling French beans, but longer. Each kind of goods is fold in a street by itself, and I always found the Turks very honest in their dealings. They let no Christians into their mosques or churches, for which I was very forry; as I was always fond of going to fee the different modes of worship of the people wherever I went. The plague broke out while we were in Smyrna, and we stopped taking goods into the ship till it was over. She was then richly laden, and we failed in about March 1770, for England. One day in our passage we met with an accident which was near burning the ship. A black cook, in melting fome fat, overfet the pan into the fire under the deck, which immediately began to blaze, and the flame went up very high under the foretop. With the fright, the poor cook became almost white, and altogether speech-Happily however we got the fire out without doing much mischief. After various delays in this paffage, which was tedious, we arrived in Standgate creek in July; and, at the latter end of the year, some new event occurred, fo that my noble captain, the ship, and I, all separated.

In April 1771, I shipped myself as a steward with Capt. William Robertson of the ship Grenada Planter, once more to try my

fortune

fortune in the West Indies; and we failed from London for Madeira, Barbadoes, and the Grenades. When we were at this last place, having some goods to fell, I met once more with my former kind of West India customers.

A white man, an islander, bought some goods of me to the amount of fome pounds, and made me many fair promifes as usual, but without any intention of paying me. He had likewife bought goods from some more of our people, whom he intended to ferve in the same manner; but he still amufed us with promises. However, when our fhip was loaded, and near failing, this honest buyer discovered no intention or fign of paying for any thing he had bought of us; but on the contrary, when I asked him for my money he threatened me and another black man he had bought goods of, fo that we found we were like to get more blows than payment. On this we went to complain to one Mr. Milntosh, a justice of the peace; we told his worship of the man's villanous tricks, and begged that he would be kind enough to fee us redreffed: but being negroes, although free, we could not get any remedy; and our ship being then just upon the point of failing, we knew not how to help ourselves, though we thought M 4

it hard to lofe our property in this manner. Luckily for us however, this man was also indebted to three white failors, who could not get a farthing from him; they therefore readily joined us, and we all went together in fearch of him. When we found where he was, I took him out of a house and threatened him with vengeance; on which, finding he was likely to be handled roughly, the rogue offered each of us fome fmall allowance, but nothing near our demands. This exasperated us much more; and some were for cutting his ears off; but he begged hard for mercy, which was at last granted him, after we had entirely ftripped him. We then let him go, for which he thanked us, giad to get off so easily, and ran into the bushes after having wished us a good voy-We then repaired on board, and fhortly after fet fail for England. I cannot help remarking here a very narrow escape we had from being blown up, owing to a piece of negligence of mine. Just as our ship was under fail, I went down under the cabin to do fome business, and had a lighted candle in my hand, which, in my hurry, without thinking, I held in a barrel of gunpowder. It remained in the powder until it was near catching fire, when fortunately I observed it and snatched it out in time, and providentially providentially no harm happened; but I was fo overcome with terror that I immediately fainted at this deliverance.

In twenty-eight days time we arrived in England, and I got clear of this ship. But, being still of a roving disposition, and desirous of feeing as many different parts of the world as I could, I shipped myself soon after, in the same year, as steward on board of a fine large ship, called the Jamaica, Captain David Watt; and we failed from England in December 1771, for Nevis and Jamaica. I found Jamaica to be a very fine large island, well peopled, and the most confiderable of the West India islands. There was a vast number of negroes here, whom I found as usual exceedingly imposed upon by the white people, and the flaves punished as in the other islands. There are negroes whose bufiness it is to flog flaves; they go about to different people for employment, and the usual pay is from one to four bits. I faw many cruel punishments inflicted on the flaves in the fhort time I flaved here. In particular I was prefent when a poor fellow was tied up and kept hanging by the wrifts at fome distance from the ground, and then some half hundred weights were fixed to his ancles, in which posture he was flogged most unmercifully. There M 5

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were also, as I heard, two different masters noted for cruelty on the island, who had staked up two negroes naked, and in two hours the vermin ftung them to death. heard a gentleman, I well knew, tell my captain that he passed sentence on a negro man to be burnt alive for attempting to poifon an overfeer. I pass over numerous other instances, in order to relieve the reader by a milder scene of roguery. Before I had been long on the island, one Mr. Smith, at Port Morant, bought goods of me to the amount of twenty-five pounds sterling; but when I demanded payment from him, he was going each time to beat me, and threatened that he would put me in gaol. One time he would fay I was going to fet his house on fire; at another, he would swear I was going to run away with his flaves. I was aftonished at this usage from a person who was in the fituation of a gentleman, but I had no alternative; and was therefore obliged to fuhmit. When I came to Kingston, I was surprised to see the number of Africans who were affembled together on Sundays; particularly at a large commodious place, called Spring Path. Here each different nation of Africa meet and dance after the manner of their own country. They still retain most of their native customs: they bury their

their dead, and put victuals, pipes and tobacco, and other things, in the grave with the corps, in the same manner as in Africa. Our ship having got her loading we failed for London, where we arrived in the August following. On my return to London, I waited on my old and good mafter, Dr. Irving, who made me an offer of his fervice again. Being now tired of the fea I gladly accepted it. I was very happy in living with this gentleman once more; during which time we were daily employed in reducing old Neptune's dominions by purifying the briny element and making it fresh. Thus I went on till May 1773, when I was roused by the found of fame to feek new adventures, and find, towards the north pole, what our Creator never intended we should, a paffage to India. An expedition was now fitting out to explore a north-east passage, conducted by the Honourable Constantine John Phipps, fince Lord Mulgrave, in his Majesty's sloop of war the Race Horse. My mafter being anxious for the reputation of this adventure, we therefore prepared every thing for our voyage, and I attended him on board the Race Horse, the 24th day of May, 1773. We proceeded to Sheerness, where we were joined by his Majesty's sloop the Carcass, commanded by Captain Lut. widge.

widge. On the 4th of June we failed towards our destined place, the pole; and on the 15th of the same month we were off Shetland. On this day I had a great and unexpected deliverance from an accident which was near blowing up the ship and destroying the crew, which made me ever after during the voyage uncommonly cautious. The ship was so filled that there was very little room on board for any one, which placed me in a very awkward fituation. It had refolved to keep a journal of this fingular and interesting voyage; and I had no other place for this purpose but a little cabin, or the doctor's store-room, where I slept. This little place was stuffed with all manner of combustibles, particularly with tow and aquafortis, and many other dangerous things. Unfortunately it happened in the evening, as I was writing my journal, that I had occasion to take the candle out of the lanthorn, and a fpark having touched a fingle thread of the tow, all the rest caught the slame, and immediately the whole was in a blaze. I faw nothing but prefent death before me, and expected to be the first to perish in the In a moment the alarm was fpread, and many people who were near, ran to affift in putting out the fire. All this time I was in the very midst of the slames; my fhirt,

shirt, and the handkerchief on my neck. were burnt, and I was almost smothered with the fmoke. However, through God's mercy, as I was nearly giving up all hopes, fome people brought blankets and mattreffes and threw them on the flames, by which means in a short time the fire was put out. I was feverely reprimanded and menaced by fuch of the officers who knew it, and strictly charged never more to go there with a light: and, indeed, even my own fears made me give heed to this command for a little time: but at last, not being able to write my journal in any other part of the ship, I was tempted again to venture by stealth with a light in the same cabin, though not without considerable fear and dread on my mind. On the 20th of June, we began to use Dr. Irving's apparatus for making falt water fresh; I used to attend the distillery: I frequently purified from twenty-fix to forty gallons a day. The water thus distilled was perfectly pure, well tafted, and free from falt; and was used on various occasions on board the ship. On the 28th of June, being in lat: 78, we made Greenland, where I was furprifed to fee the fun did not fet. The weather now became extremely cold; and as we failed between north and east. which was our course, we saw many very high

high and curious mountains of ice; and also a great number of very large whales, which used to come close to our ship, and blow the water up to a very great height in the air. One morning we had vast quantities of seahorses about the ship, which neighed exactly like any other horses. We fired some harpoon guns amongst them, in order to take fome, but we could not get any. The 30th, the captain of a Greenland ship came on board, and told us of three ships that were lost in the ice; however we still held on our course till July the 11th, when we were ftopt by one compact impenetrable body of ice. We ran along it from east to west above ten degrees; and on the 27th we got as far north as 80, 37; and in 19 or 20 degrees east longitude from London. On the 20th and 30th of July, we saw one continued plain of fmooth unbroken ice, bounded only by the horizon; and we fastened to a piece of ice that was eight yards eleven inches thick. We had generally funshine, and constant daylight; which gave cheerfulness and novelty to the whole of this striking, grand, and uncommon scene; and, to heighten it still more, the reflection of the fun from the ice gave the clouds a most beautiful appearance. We killed many different animals at this

this time, and among the rest nine bears. Though they had nothing in their paunches but water, yet they were all very fat. We ased to decoy them to the ship sometimes by burning feathers or fkins. I thought them coarse eating, but some of the hip's company relished them very much. Some of our people once, in the boat, fired at and wounded a fea-horfe, which dived immediately; and in a little time after brought up with it a number of others. They all joined in an attack upon the boat, and were with difficulty prevented from staving or oversetting her; but a boat from the Carcass having come to affift ours, and joined it, they dispersed, after having wrested an oar from one of the men. One of the ship's boats had before been attacked in the fame manner, but happily no harm was done. Though we wounded feveral of these animals we never got but one. We remained hereabouts until the ift of August; when the two ships got completely fastened in the ice, occasioned by the loose ice that set in from the fea. This made our fituation very dreadful and alarming; fo that on the 7th day, we were in very great apprehension of having the ships squeezed to pieces. The officers now held a council to know what was best for us to do in order to fave our lives; and

it was determined that we should endeavour to escape by dragging our boats along the ice towards the fea; which, however, was farther off than any of us thought. determination filled us with extreme dejection, and confounded us with despair; for we had very little prospect of escaping with However we fawed fome of the ice about the ships, to keep it from hurting them; and thus kept them in a kind of pond. We then began to drag the boats as well as we could towards the fea; but after two or three days labour, we made very little progress; so that some of our hearts totally failed us, and I really began to give up myfelf for loft, when I faw our furrounding calamities. While we were at this hard labour, I once fell into a pond we had made amongst some loose ice, and was very near being drowned; but providentially some people were near who gave me immediate affiftance, and thereby I escaped drowning. Our deplorable condition, which kept up the constant apprehension of our perishing in the ice, brought me gradually to think of eternity in such a manner as I never had done before. I had the fears of death hourly upon me, and shuddered at the thoughts of meeting the grim king of terrors in the na. tural state I then was in, and was exceedingly

ingly doubtful of a happy eternity if I should die in it. I had no hopes of my life being prolonged for any time; for we faw that our existence could not be long on the ice after leaving the ships, which were now out of fight, and some miles from the boats. Our appearance now became truly lamentable; pale dejection seized every countenance; many, who had been before blasphemers, in this our diffress began to call on the good God of heaven for his help; and in the time of our utter need he heard us, and against hope or human probability, delivered us! It was the eleventh day of the fhips being thus fastened, and the fourth of our drawing the boats in this manner, that the wind changed to the E. N. E. The weather immediately became mild, and the ice broke towards the sea, which was to the S. W. of us. Many of us on this got on board again, and with all our might we hove the ships into every open water we could find, and made all the fail on them in our power: and now, having a prospect of success, we made signals for the boats and the remainder of the people. This feemed to us like a reprieve from death; and happy was the man who could first get on board of any ship, or the first boat he could meet. We then proceeded in this manner till we got into the open water again, which

which we accomplished in about thirty hours, to our infinite joy and gladness of heart. As foon as we were out of danger, we came to anchor and refitted; and on the 19th of August, we failed from this uninhabited extremity of the world, where the inhospitable climate affords neither food nor fhelter, and not a tree or shrub of any kind grows amongst its barrren rocks; but all is one desolate and expanded waste of ice, which even the constant beams of the fun for fix months in the year cannot penetrate or dissolve. The sun now being on the decline, the days shortened as we failed to the fouthward; and, on the 28th, in latitude 7. it was dark by ten o'clock at night. September the 10th, in latitude 58-59, we met a very fevere gale of wind and high feas, and shipped a great deal of water in the space of ten hours. This made us work exceedingly hard at all our pumps a whole day; and one fea, which struck the ship with more force than any thing I ever met with of the kind before, laid her under water for some time, fo that we thought the would have gone down. Two boats were washed from the booms, and the long-boat from the chucks: all other moveable things on the decks were also washed away, among which Were were many curious things of different kinds which we had brought from Greenland; and we were obliged, in order to lighten the ship, to toss some of our guns overboard. We faw a ship at the same time, in very great diffress, and her masts were gone; but we were unable to affift her. We now loft fight of the Carcass till the 26th, when we faw land about Orfordness, off which place she joined us. From thence we sailed for London, and on the 30th came up to Deptford. And thus ended our Arctic voyage, to the no small joy of all on board, after having been absent four months; in which time, at the imminent hazard of our lives, we explored nearly as far towards the Pole as 81 degrees north, and 20 degrees east longitude; being much farther, by all accounts, than any navigator had ever ventured before; in which we fully proved the impracticability of finding a passage that way to India.

CHAP. X.

The author leaves Doctor Irving, and engages on board a Turkey ship—Account of a black man's being kidnapped on board and sent to the West Indies, and the author's fruitless endeavours to procure his freedom—Some account of the manner of the author's conversion to the faith of Jesus Christ.

Our voyage to the North Pole being ended, I returned to London with doctor Irving, with whom I continued for fome time, during which I began feriously to reflect on the dangers I had escaped, particularly those of my last voyage, which made a lasting impression on my mind; and, by the Grace of God, proved afterwards a mercy to me: it caused me to reflect deeply on my eternal state, and to feek the Lord with full purpose of heart ere it was too late. I rejoiced greatly; and heartily thanked the Lord for directing me to London, where I was determined to work out my own falvation, and in fo doing, procure a title to heaven; being the refult of a mind blended by ignorance and fin.

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In process of time I left my master, Doctor Irving, the purifier of waters. I lodged in Coventry-court, Haymarket, where I was continually opprefied and much concerned about the falvation of my foul, and was determined (in my own strength) to be a first-rate Christian. I used every means for this purpose; and, not being able to find any person amongst those with whom I was then acquainted that acquiesced with me in point of religion, or, in scripture language, that would fhew me any good, I was much dejected, and knew not where to feek relief; however, I first frequented the neighbouring churches, St. James's, and others, two or three times a day, for many weeks: still I came away diffatisfied: fomething was wanting that I could not obtain, and I really found more heart-felt relief in reading my bible at home than in attending the church; and, being refolved to be faved, I purfued other methods. First I went to a meeting of the people called Quakers, which was at times held in filence. and I remained as much in the dark as ever. I then fearched into the Roman catholic principles, but was not in the least edified. l at length had recourse to the Jews, which availed me nothing, as the fear of eternity daily

daily haraffed my mind, and I knew not where to feek shelter from the wrath to come. However this was my conclusion, at all events, to read the four evangelifts, and whatever fect or party I found adhering thereto, fuch I would join. Thus I went on heavily without any guide to direct me the way that leadeth to eternal life. I asked different people questions about the manner of going to heaven, and was told different ways. Here I was much staggered, and could not find any at that time more righteous than myfelf, or indeed so much inclined to devotion. I thought we should not all be faved (this is agreeable to the holy scriptures), nor would all be damned. I found none among the circle of my acquaintance that kept wholly the ten commandments. So righteous was, I in my own eyes, that I was convinced I excelled many of them in that point, by keeping eight out of ten; and finding those who in general termed themselves Christians not so honest or so good in their morals as the Turks, I really thought the Turks were in a fafer way of falvation than my neighbours: fo that between hopes and fears I went on, and the chief comforts I enjoyed were in the mufical French horn, which I then practifed,

practifed, and also drefling of hair. Such was my fituation fome months, experiencing the dishonesty of many people here. determined at last to set out for Turkey, and there to end my days. It was now early in the spring 1774. I sought for a master, and found a captain John Hughes, commander of a ship called Anglicania, fitting out in the river Thames, and bound to Smyrna in Turkey. I shipped myself with him as a steward; at the same time I recommended to him a very clever black man, John Annis, as a cook. This man was on board the ship near two months doing his duty: he had formerly lived many years with Mr. William Kirkpatrick, a gentleman of the island of St. Kitt's, from whom he parted by confent, though he afterwards tried many schemes to inveigle the poor man. He had applied to many captains who traded to St. Kitt's to trepan him; and when all their attempts and schemes of kidnapping proved abortive, Mr. Kirkpatrick came to our ship at Union Stairs, on Easter Monday, April the fourth, with two wherry boats and fix men, having learned that the man was on board; and tied, and forcibly took him away from the ship, in the presence of the crew and the chief mate, who

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who had detained him after he had information to come away. I believe this was a combined piece of business: but, be that as it may, it certainly reflected great difgrace on the mate and captain also, who, although they had defired the oppressed man to stay on board, yet notwithstanding this vile act on the man who had ferved him, he did not in the least assist to recover him. or pay me a farthing of his wages, which was about five pounds. I proved the only friend he had, who attempted to regain him his liberty if possible, having known the want of liberty myself. I sent as soon as I could to Gravefend, and got knowledge of the ship in which he was; but unluckily the had failed the first tide after he was put on board. My intention was then immediately to apprehend Mr. Kirkpatrick, who was about fetting off for Scotland; and, having obtained a habeas corpus for him, and got a tipstaff to go with me to St. Paul's church-yard, where he lived, he, fuspecting fomething of this kind, fet a watch to look out. My being known to them, obliged me to use the following deception: I whitened my face, that they might not know me, and this had the defired effect. He did not go out of his house that night, and next morning

morning I contrived a well plotted stratagem, notwithstanding he had a gentleman in his house to personate him. My direction to the tipstaff had the defired effect; he got admittance into the house, and conducted him to a judge, according to the writ. When he came there, his plea was, that he had not the body in custody, on which he was admitted to bail. I proceeded immediately to that well known philanthropist, Granville Sharp, Esq. who received me with the utmost kindness, and gave me every instruction that was needful on the occasion. I left him in full hope that I should gain the unhappy man his liberty, with the warmest sense of gratitude towards Mr. Sharp for his kindness; but alas! my attorney proved unfaithful; he took my money, loft me many months employ, and did not do the least good in the cause; and when the poor man arrived at St. Kitt's, he was, according to custom, staked to the ground with four pins through a cord, two on his wrifts, and two on his ancles, was cut and flogged most unmercifully, and afterwards loaded cruelly with irons about his neck. I had two very moving letters from him, while he was in this fituation; and I made attempts to go after him at a great hazard, but was fadly disappointed:

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I also was told of it by some very respectable families now in London, who faw him in St. Kitt's, in the same state, in which he remained till kind death released him out of the hands of his tyrants. During this difagreeable business I was under strong convictions of fin, and thought that my flate was worse than any man's; my mind was unaccountably diffurbed; I often wished for death, though at the fame time convinced I was altogether unprepared for that awful fummons. Suffering much by villains in the late cause, and being much concerned about the state of my foul, these things (but particularly the latter) brought me very low; fo that I became a burden to myfelf, and viewed all things around me as emptiness and vanity, which could give no fatisfaction to a troubled conscience. I was again determined to go to Turkey, and refolved, at that time, never more to return to England. I engaged as fleward on board a Turkeyman (the Wester Hall, Capt. Lina) but was prevented by means of my late captain, Mr. Hughes, and others. All this appeared to be against me, and the only comfort I then experienced was, in reading the holy scriptures, where I saw that 'there is ' no new thing under the fun,' Eccles. i. 9; and what was appointed for me I must submit

mit to. Thus I continued to travel in much heaviness, and frequently murmured against the Almighty, particularly in his providential dealings; and, awful to think! I began to blaspheme, and wished often to be any thing but a human being. In thefe fevere conflicts the Lord answered me by awful 'visions of the night, when deep sleep ' falleth upon men, in flumberings upon 'the bed,' Job xxxiii. 15. He was pleafed, in much mercy, to give me to fee, and in fome measure understand, the great and awful scene of the judgment day, that 'no ' unclean person, no unholy thing, can en-' ter into the kingdom of God,' Eph. v. 5. I would then, if it had been possible, have changed my nature with the meanest worm on the earth; and was ready to fay to the mountains and rocks 'fall on me,' Rev. vi. 16; but all in vain. I then in the greatest agony requested the divine Creator, that he would grant me a small space of time to repent of my follies and vile iniquities, which I felt were grievous. The Lord, in Ais manifold mercies, was pleased to grant my request, and being yet in a state of time, the fense of God's mercies were so great on my mind when I awoke, that my Arength entirely failed me for many minutes, and I was exceedingly weak. This was the first fpiritual. N 2

spiritual mercy I ever was sensible of, and being on praying ground, as foon as I recovered a little strength, and got out of bed and dreffed myfelf, I invoked Heaven from my inmost foul, and fervently begged that God would never again permit me to blafpheme his most holy name. The Lord, who is long fuffering, and full of compassion to fuch poor rebels as we are, condescended to hear and answer. I felt that I was altogether unholy, and faw clearly what a bad use I had made of the faculties I was endowed with: they were given me to glorify God with; I thought, therefore, I had better want them here, and enter into life eternal. than abuse them and be cast into hell fire. I prayed to be directed, if there were any holier persons than those with whom I was acquainted, that the Lord would point them out to me. I appealed to the Searcher of hearts, whether I did not wish to love him more, and sewe him better. Notwithstanding all this, the reader may eafily difcern, ila believer, that I was still in nature's daranefs. At length I hated the house in which I lodged, because God's most holy name was blasphemed in it; then I saw the word of God verified, viz. 'Before they call, I will answer; and while they are ' yet speaking, I will hear.'

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I had a great defire to read the bible the whole day at home; but not having a convenient place for retirement, I left the house in the day, rather than flay amongst the wicked ones; and that day as I was walking, it pleased God to direct me to a house where there was an old fea faring man, who experienced much of the love of God shed abroad in his heart. He began to discourse with me; and, as I defired to love the Lord, his conversation rejoiced me greatly; and indeed I had never heard before the love of Christ to believers set forth in such a manner, and in so clear a point of view. Here I had more questions to put to the man than his time would permit him to answer: and in that memorable hour there came in a diffenting minister; he joined our discourse, and asked me some few questions; among others, where I heard the gospel preached? I knew not what he meant by hearing the gospel; I told him I had read the gospel: and he asked me where I went to church, or whether I went at all or not? To which I replied 'I attended St. James's, St. Mar-' tin's, and St. Ann's, Soho.'- So,' faid he, 'you are a churchman?' I answered, I was. He then invited me to a love-feaft at his chapel that evening. I accepted the offer, and thanked him; and foon after he went went away, I had some further discourse with the old Christian, added to some profitable reading, which made me exceedingly happy. When I left him he reminded me of coming to the feaft; I affured him I would be there. Thus we parted, and I weighed over the heavenly conversation that had passed between these two men, which cheered my then heavy and drooping spirit more than any thing I had met with for ma-However, I thought the time ny months. long in going to my supposed banquet. I also wished much for the company of these friendly men; their company pleased me much; and I thought the gentleman very kind in asking me, a stranger, to a feast; but how fingular did it appear to me, to have it in a chapel! When the wished-for hour came I went, and happily the old man was there, who kindly feated me, as he belonged to the place. I was much aftonished to fee the place filled with people, and no figns of eating and drinking. There were many ministers in the company. At last they began by giving out hymns, and between the finging, the ministers engaged in prayer: in fhort, I knew not what to make of this fight, having never feen any thing of the kind in my life before now. Some of the guests began to speak their experience, agreeable agreeable to what I read in the scriptures: much was faid by every speaker of the providence of God, and his unspeakable mercies, to each of them. This I knew in a great measure, and could most heartily join But when they spoke of a future state, they seemed to be altogether certain of their calling and election of God; and that no one could ever separate them from the love of Christ, or pluck them out of his hands. This filled me with utter consternation, intermingled with admiration. I was fo amazed as not to know what to think of the company; my heart was attracted, and my affections were enlarged; I wished to be as happy as them, and was perfuaded in my mind that they were different from the world ' that lieth in wickedness,' I John v. Their language and finging, &c. did well harmonize; I was entirely overcome, and wished to live and die thus. fome perfons in the place produced fome neat balkets full of buns, which they diftributed about; and each person communicated with his neighbour, and fipped water out of different mugs, which they handed about to all who were present. This kind of Christian fellowship I had never seen, nor ever thought of feeing on earth; it fully reminded me of what I had read in the holy N 4 fcriptures,

scriptures, of the primitive Christians, who loved each other and broke bread; in partaking of it, even from house to house. This entertainment (which lasted about four hours) ended in finging and prayer. It was the first foul-feast I ever was present at. This last twenty four hours produced me things, spiritual and temporal, sleeping and waking, judgment and mercy, that I could not but admire the goodness of God, in directing the blind, blasphemous sinner in the path that he knew not of, even among the just; and instead of judgment he has shewed mercy, and will hear and answer the prayers and fupplications of every returning prodigal:

O! to grace how great a debtor Daily I'm constrain'd to be!

After this I was refolved to win heaven if possible; and if I perished I thought it should be at the feet of Jesus, in praying to him for salvation. After having been an eye-witness to some of the happiness which attended those who seared God, I knew not how, with any propriety, to return to my lodgings, where the name of God was continually profaned, at which I felt the greatest horror; I paused in my mind for some time, not knowing what to do; whether

to hire a bed elsewhere, or go home again. At last fearing an evil report might arise, I went home, with a farewell to card-playing and vain jesting, &c. I saw that time was very short, eternity long, and very near; and I viewed those persons alone blessed who were found ready at midnight call, or when the judge of all, both quick and dead, cometh.

The next day I took courage, and went to Holborn, to fee my newand worthy acquaintance, the old man, Mr. C-; he, with his wife, a gracious woman, were at work at filk weaving; they feemed mutually happy, and both quite glad to fee me, and I more fo to fee them. I fat down and we converfed much about foul matters, &c. discourse was amazingly delightful, edifying, and pleafant. I knew not at last how to leave this agreeable pair, till time fummoned me away. As I was going they lent me a little book, entitled " The Converfion of an Indian." It was in questions and answers. The poor man came over the fea to London, to inquire after the Christian's God, who (through rich mercy) he found, and had not his his journey in vain. The above book was of great use to me, and at that time was a means of ftrengthening my faith; however, in parting, they.

they both invited me to call on them when I pleased. This delighted me, and I took care to make all the improvement from it I could; and fo far I thanked God for fuch company and defires. I prayed that the many evils I felt within might be done away, and that I might be weaned from my former carnal acquaintances. This was quickly heard and answered, and I was soon connected with those whom the scripture calls the excellent of the earth. I heard the gofpel preached, and the thoughts of my heart and actions were laid open by the preachers, and the way of falvation by Christ alone was evidently fet forth. Thus I went on happily for near two months; and I once heard during this period, a reverend gentleman, Mr. G. speak of a man who had departed this life in full affurance of his going to glory. I was much aftonished at the affertion; and did very deliberately inquire how he could get at this knowledge. I was answeredfully, agreeably to what I read in the oracles. of truth; and was told also, that if I did not experience the new birth, and the pardon of my fins, through the blood of Christ, before I died, I could not enter the kingdom of Heaven. I knew not what to think of this report, as I thought I kept eight commandments out of ten; then my

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my worthy interpreter told me I did not do it, nor could I; and he added, that no man ever did or could keep the commandments without offending in one point. I thought this founded very grange, and puzzled me much for many weeks; for I thought it a hard faying. I then asked my friend Mr. L-d, who was a clerk in a chapel, why the commandments of God were given, if we could not be faved by them? To which he replied, 'The law is ' a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ,' who alone could and did keep the commandments, and fulfilled all their requirements for his elect people, even those to whom he had given a living faith, and the fins of those chosen vessels were already atoned for and forgiven them whilst living; and if I did not experience the fame before my exit, the Lord would fay at that great day to me, 'Go ye curfed,' &c. &c. for God would appear faithful in his judgments to the wicked, as he would be faithful in shewing mercy to those who were ordained to it before the world was; therefore Christ Jesus seemed to be all in all to that man's foul. much wounded at this discourse, and brought into fuch a dilemma as I never expected. I asked him if he was to die that moment, whether he was fure to enter the N 5 kingdom

kingdom of God? and added, 'Do you know that your fins are forgiven you? he answered in the affirmative. Then confusion, anger, and discontent seized me, and I staggered much at this fort of doctrine; it brought me to a stand, not knowing which to believe, whether falvation by works, or by faith only in Christ. I requested him to tell me how I might know when my fins were forgiven me. He affured me he could not, and that none but God alone could do this. I told him it was very mysterious; but he said it was really matter of fact, and quoted many portions of scripture immediately to the point, to which I could make no reply. He then defired me to pray to God to shew me these things. I answered that I prayed to God everyday. He faid, 'I perceive you are a church-' man.' I answered, I was. He then entreated me to beg of God to shew me what I was, and the true state of my foul. I thought the prayer very fhort and odd; fo we parted for that time. I weighed all thefe things well over, and could not help thinking how it was possible for a man to know that his fins were forgiven him in this life. I wished that God would reveal this felf-fame thing unto me. In a fhort time after

after this I went to Westminster chapel; the Rev. Mr. P-preached from Lam. iii. 39. It was a wonderful fermon; he clearly shewed that a living man had no cause to complain for the punishments of his fins; he evidently justified the Lord in all his dealings with the fons of men; he also shewed the justice of God in the eternal punishment of the wicked and impeni-The discourse seemed to me like a two-edged fword cutting all ways; it afforded me much joy, intermingled with many fears about my foul; and when it was ended, he gave it out that he intended, the enfuing week, to examine all those who meant to attend the Lord's table. Now I thought much of my good works, and at the fame time was doubtful of my being a proper object to receive the facrament; I was full of meditation till the day of examining. However, I went to the chapel, and, though much distressed, I addressed the reverend gentleman, thinking if I was not right, he would endeavour to convince me of it. When I converfed with him, the first thing he asked me, was, what I knew of Christ? I toldhim I believed in him, and had been baptized in his name. 'Then,' faid he, 'when were you brought to the knowledge of ' God?

God? and how were you convinced of fin? I knew not what he meant by these questions; I told him I kept eight commandments out of ten; but that I fometimes fwore on board ship, and sometimes when on shore, and broke the fabbath. He then asked me if I could read? I answered, 'Yes.'-' Then,' faid he, 'do you not read in the bible, he ' that offends in one point is guilty of all?' I faid, 'Yes.' Then he affured me, that one fin unatoned for was as sufficient to damn a foul as one leak was to fink a ship. Here I was struck with awe; for the minifter exhorted me much, and reminded me of the shortness of time, and the length of eternity, and that no unregenerate foul, or any thing unclean, could enter the kingdom of Heaven.

He did not admit me as a communicant; but recommended me to read the scriptures, and hear the word preached; not to neglect fervent prayer to God, who has promised to hear the supplications of those who seek him in godly sincerity; so I took my leave of him, with many thanks, and resolved to sollow his advice, so far as the Lord would condescend to enable me. During this time I was out of employ, nor was I likely to get a situation suitable for me, which obliged

me to go once more to fea. I engaged as steward of a ship called the Hope, Capt. Richard Strange, bound from London to Cadiz in Spain. In a short time after I was on board I heard the name of God much blasphemed, and I feared greatly, lest I should catch the horrible infection. I thought if I finned again, after having life and death fet evidently before me, I should certainly go to hell. My mind was uncommonly chagrined, and I murmured much at God's providential dealings with me, and was discontented with the commandments, that I could not be faved by what I had done; I hated all things, and wished I had never been born; confusion seized me, and I wished to be annihilated. One day I was standing on the very edge of the stern of the ship, thinking to drown myself; but this scripture was inftantly impressed on my mind-That no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him,' 1 John iii. 15. paused, and thought myself the unhappiest Again I was convinced that man living. the Lord was better to me than I deferved, and I was better off in the world than many. After this I began to fear death; I fretted, mourned, and prayed, till I became a burden to others, but more fo to myself. At length I concluded to beg my bread on shore rather

rather than go again to fea amongst a people who feared not God, and I entreated the captain three different times to discharge me; he would not, but each time gave me greater and greater encouragement to continue with him, and all on board shewed me very great civility: notwithstanding all this I was unwilling to embark again. At last fome of my religious friends advited me, by faying it was my lawful calling, confequently it was my duty to obey, and that God was not confined to place, &c. &c. particularly Mr. G. S. the governor of Tothil-fields. Bridewell, who pitied my case, and readthe eleventh chapter of the Hebrews to me, with exhortations. He prayed for me, and I believed that he prevailed on my behalf, as my burthen was then greatly removed, and I found a heartfelt relignation to the will of God. The good man gave me a pocket Bible and Alleine's Alarm to the unconverted. We parted, and the next day I. went on board again. We failed for Spain, and I found fayour with the captain. It was the fourth of the month of September when we failed from London; we had a delightful voyage to Cadiz, where we arrived the twenty-third of the same month. The place is strong, commands a fine prospect, and is

very rich. The Spanish galloons frequent that port, and some arrived whilst we were there. I had many opportunities of reading the scriptures. I wrestled hard with God in fervent prayers, who had declared in his word that he would hear the groanings and deep fighs of the poor in spirit. I found this verified to my utter aftonishment and comfort in the following manner: On the morning of the 6th of October, (I pray you to attend) all that day, I thought that I should either see or hear something supernatural. I had a fecret impulse on my mind of fomething that was to take place, which drove me continually for that time to a throne of grace. It pleased God to enable me to wreftle with him, as Jacob did: I prayed that if fudden death were to happen, and I perished, it might be at Christ's feet.

In the evening of the same day, as I was reading and meditating on the fourth chapter of the Acts, twelfth verse, under the solemn apprehensions of eternity, and reflecting on my past actions, I began to think I had lived a moral life, and that I had a proper ground to believe I had an interest in the divine favour; but still meditating on the subject, not knowing whether salvation was to be had partly for our own good deeds,

or folely as the fovereign gift of God;—in this deep consternation the Lord was pleafed to break in upon my foul with his bright beams of heavenly light; and in an instant as it were, removing the veil, and letting light into a dark place, I faw clearly with the eye of faith the crucified Saviour bleeding on the cross on mount Calvary: the scriptures became an unfealed book, I faw myfelf a condemned criminal under the law, which came with its full force to my confcience, and when ' the commandment came ' fin revived, and I died.' I faw the Lord Jefus Christ in his humiliation, loaded and bearing my reproach, fin, and shame. I then clearly perceived that by the deeds of the law no flesh living could be justified. I was then convinced that by the first Adam fin came, and by the fecond Adam (the Lord Jefus Christ) all that are faved must be made alive. It was given me at that time to know what it was to be born again, John iii. 5. I faw the eighth chapter to the Romans, and the doctrines of God's decrees, verified agreeable to his eternal, everlasting, and unchangeable purpofes. The word of God was fweet to my tafte, yea fweeter than honey and the honeycomb. Christ was revealed to my foul as the chiefest amongst ten thousand. These heavenly moments were really -111

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really as life to the dead, and what John calls an earnest of the Spirit*. This was indeed unspeakable, and I firmly believe undeniable by many. Now every leading providential circumstance that happened to me, from the day I was taken from my parents to that hour, was then in my view, as if it had but just then occurred. I was fensible of the invisible hand of God, which guided and protected me when in truth I knew it not: still the Lord pursued me although I flighted and difregarded it; this mercy meited me down. When I confidered my poor wretched state I wept, seeing what a great debtor I was to fovereign free grace. Now the Ethiopian was willing to be faved by Jesus Christ, the sinner's only surety, and also to rely on none other person or thing for falvation. Self was obnoxious, and good works he had none, for it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do. Oh! the amazing things of that hour can never be told—it was joy in the Holy Ghost! I felt an attonishing change; the burden of fin, the gaping jaws of hell, and the fears of death, that weighed me down before, now loft their horror; indeed I thought death would now be the best earthly friend I ever

^{*} John xvi. 13, 14, &c.

had. Such were my grief and joy as I believe are feldom experienced. I was bathed in tears, and faid, What am I that God should thus look on me the vilest of sinners? I felt a deep concern for my mother and friends, which occasioned me to pray with fresh ardour; and in the abyss of thought I viewed the unconverted people of the world in a very awful state, being without God

and without hope.

It pleased God to pour out on me the spirit of prayer and the grace of supplication, fo that in loud acclamations I was enabled to praise and glorify his most holy name. When I got out of the cabin, and told fome of the people what the Lord had done for me, alas, who could understand me or believe my report!—None but to whom the arm of the Lord was revealed. I became a barbarian to them in talking of the love of Christ: his name was to me as ointment poured forth; indeed it was fweet to my foul, but to them a rock of offence. I thought my case singular, and every hour a day until I came to London, for I much longed to be with fome to whom I could tell of the wonders of God's love towards me, and join in prayer to him whom my foul loved and thirsted after. I had uncommon commotions within, fuch as few can tell aught about. Now

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Now the bible was my only companion and comfort; I prized it much, with many thanks to God that I could read it for myfelf, and was not left to be toffed about or led by man's devices and notions. The worth of a foul cannot be told. - May the Lord give the reader an understanding in this. Whenever I looked in the bible I faw things new, and many texts were immediately applied to me with great comfort, for I knew that to me was the word of falvation fent. Sure I was that the Spirit which indited the word opened my heart to receive the truth of it as it is in Jesus-that the same Spirit enabled me to act faith upon the promifes that were precious to me, and enabled me to believe to the falvation of my foul. By free grace I was perfuaded that I had a part in the first resurrection, and was enlightened with the ' light of the living,' Job xxxiii. 30. I wished for a man of God with whom I might converse: my foul was like the chariots of Aminadab, Canticles vi. Thefe, among others, were the precious promifes that were fo powerfully applied to me: ' All things whatfoever ye shall ask 'in prayer, believing, ye shall receive,' Matt. xxi. 22. 'Peace I leave with you, my ' peace I give unto you,' John xiv. 27. I law the bleffed Redeemer to be the fountain

of life, and the well of falvation. I experienced him to be all in all; he had brought me by a way that I knew not, and he had made crooked paths straight. Then in his name I setup my Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto he hath helped me: and could say to the sinners about me, Behold what a Saviour I have! Thus I was, by the teaching of that all-glorious Deity, the great One in Three, and Three in One, confirmed in the truths of the bible, those oracles of everlasting truth, on which every soul living must stand or fall eternally, agreeable to Acts iv. 12.

Neither is there falvation in any other,
for there is none other name under heaven

' given among men whereby we must be ' faved, but only Jesus Christ.' May God

give the reader a right understanding in these facts! 'To him that believeth, all things are possible, but to them that are unbelieved.

'ing nothing is pure,' Titus i. 15.

During this period we remained at Cadiz until our ship got laden. We sailed about the fourth of November; and, having a good passage, we arrived in London the month following, to my comfort, with heartfelt gratitude to God for his rich and unspeakable mercies.

On my return I had but one text which puzzled me, or that the devil endeavoured e-

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ed to to buffet me with, viz. Rom. xi. 6. and, as I had heard of the Reverend Mr. Romaine, and his great knowledge in the scriptures, I wished much to hear him preach. One day I went to Blackfriars church, and, to my great fatisfaction and furprife, he preached from that very text. He very clearly shewed the difference between human works and free election, which is according to God's fovereign will and pleasure. These glad tidings fet me entirely at liberty, and I went out of the church rejoicing, feeing my spots were those of God's Children. I went to Westminster Chapel, and faw some of my old friends, who were glad when they perceived the wonderful change that the Lord had wrought in me, particularly Mr. G-S-, my worthy acquaintance, who was a man of a choice spirit, and had great zeal for the Lord's fervice. I enjoyed his correspondence till he died in the year 1784. I was again examined at that fame chapel, and was received into church-fellowship amongst them: I rejoiced in spirit, making melody in my heart to the God of all my Now my whole wish was to be dissolved, and to be with Christ-but, alas! I must wait mine appointed time.

MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELLANEOUS VERSES,

OR,

Reflections on the State of my Mind during my first Convictions, of the Necessity of believing the Truth, and experiencing the inestimable Benefits of Christianity.

Well may I say my life has been One scene of sorrow and of pain; From early days I griefs have known, And as I grew my griefs have grown:

Dangers were always in my path; And fear of wrath, and sometimes death; While pale dejection in me reign'd I often wept, by grief constrain'd.

When taken from my native land, By an unjust and cruel band, How did uncommon dread prevail! My fighs no more I could conceal.

To ease my mind I often strove.

And tried my trouble to remove:
I fung, and utter'd fighs between.

Assay'd to stifle guilt with sin.

But

But O! not all that I could do Would ftop the current of my woe a Conviction fift my vilenes shew'd; How great my guilt-how loft to good!

- Prevented, that I could not die, in additional
- Nor could to one fure refuge fly.
- An orphan state I had to mourn, -
- Forfook by all, and thet forlown.

Those who beheld my downcast mien, Could not guels at my woes unfeen: They by appearance could not know The troubles that I waded through.

Luft, anger, blafphemy, and pride,

- With tegions of luch ills befide,
 Troubled my thoughts, while doubts and fears Clouded and darken'd most my years.
- Sighs now no more would be confin'd-
- They breath'd the trouble of my mind :
- I wish'd for death, but check'd the word, And often pray'd ento the lord, and and

Unhappy, more than fome on earth, I thought the place that gave me birth-Strange thoughts apprels'd-while I replied, "Why not in Ethiopia died?"

And why thus fpar'd when nigh to hell?-God only knew-I could not tell!

- A ton ring fence, a bowing wall.
- I thought my felt ere fince the fall.

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Oft times I mus'd, and nigh despair, While birds melodious fill'd the air 'Thrice happy songsters, ever free, How blest were they, compar'd to me!

Thus all things added to my pain,
While grief compelled me to complain;
When table clouds began to rife
My mind grew darker than the thies.

The English nation called to leave
How did my breast with forrows heave!
I long'd for rest—cried "Help me, Lord!
"Some mitigation, Lord, afford!"

Weary with troubles yet unknown
To all but God and felf alone,
Numerous months for peace I frove,
Numerous foes I had to prove

Inur'd to dangers, griefs, and woes, and U Train'd up 'midd perils, death, and foes, I faid, "Must it thus ever be? "No quiet is permitted me."

Hard hap, and more than heavy lot!

I pray'd to God, "Forget me not"What thou ordain'st help me to bear;"
But, Ol deliver from despair!

Strivings and wreftling feem'd in vain;
Nothing I did could eafe my pain:
Then gave I up my work and will,
Confeis'd and own'd my doon was hell!

Like fome poor pris ner at the bar,
Confcious of guilt; of fin and fear,
Arraign'd, and felf condemn'd, I stood—
Lost in the world and in my blood if

Yet here, 'midit blackest clouds confin'd, 's
A beam from Christ, the day star shin'd;
Surely, thought I, if Jesus please,
He can at once sign my release.

I, ignorant of his righteousness, Set up my labours in its place; 'Porgot for why his blood was shed, 'And pray'd and fasted in its stead.'

He dy'd for finners—I am one! Might not his blood for me atone? Tho' I am nothing else but fin, Yet surely he can make me clean!

Thus light came in, and I believ'd; Myfelf forgot, and help receiv'd! My Saviour then I know I found, For, eas'd from guilt no more I groan'd.

O, happy hour, in which I ceas'd To mourn, for then I found a reft! My foul and Christ were new as one— Thy light, O Jesus, in me shone!

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Bles'd be thy name, for now I know I and my works can nothing do; " The Lord alone can ranformman-" For this the spotless Lamb was flain !"

When facrifices, works, and pray'r, Prov'd vain, and ineffectual were, " Lo, then I come!" the Saviour cry'd, And bleeding, bow'd his head and dy'd !

He dy'd for all who ever faw Nothelp in them, nor by the law :--I this have feen; and gladly own "Salvation is by Christ alone " !"

> . Afts iv. 12. Set up and shapes in an place.

the digit for friedry will and come from night on his bin, for its rain. Tage (we noting the balls.

Charle at a tobalther Dear box.

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Also see one from the see of the see all Weigner a dealer entering over a brane, to T Days I had be a great sugar . O.

der a brook I rout to assume o'l My land such Cheriff week now as one-Right smei agist O tha CHAP.

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With his file and grained

CHAP. XL

The author embarks on board a ship bound for Cadiz-Is near being Shipwrecked-Goes to Mataga-Remarkable fine cathedral there-The author disputes with a popish priest-Picks up eleven miferable men at fea in returning to England-Engages again with Doslor Irving to accompany him to Jamaica and the Mujquito fore-Meets with an Indian prince on board-The author attempts to instruct him in the truths of the Gospel-Frustrated by the bad example of fome in the ship-They arrive on the Musquito Shore with some flaves they purchased at Jamaica, and begin to cultivate a plantation-Some account of the manners and customs of the Mufquito Indians-Successful device of the author's to quell a riot among them-Curious entertainment given by them to Doctor Irving and the author, who leaves the shore and goes for Jamaica—Is barbarenfly treated by a man with whom he engaged for his paffage-Escapes and goes to the Musquito admiral, who treats him kindly-He gets another

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another vessel and goes on board—Instances of bad treatment—Meets Dostor Irving—Gets to Jamaica—Is cheated by his captain—Leaves the Dostor and sails for England.

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WHEN our ship was got ready for sea again, I was entreated by the captain to go in her once more; but, as I felt myfelf now as happy as I could with to be in this life, I for fome time refused; however, the advice of my friends at last prevailed; and, in full refignation to the will of God, I again embarked for Cadiz in March 1775. We had a very good without any material accident, until we arrived off the Bay of Cadiz; when one Sunday, just as we were going into the harbour, the thip struck against a rock and knocked off a garboard plank, which is the next to the keel. In an instant all hands were in the greatest confusion, and began with loud cries to call on God to have mercy on them. Although I could not fwim, and faw no way of escaping death, I felt no dread in my then fituation, having no defire to live. I even rejoiced in spirit, thinking this death would be sudden glory. But the fulness of time was not yet come. The people near to me were much allonished in seeing me- thus calm and resigned. But I told them of the peace of God, which

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which through fovereign grace. I enjoyed, and these words were at that instant in my mind:

· Christ is my pilot wife, my compass is his word;

"My foul each storm desies, while I have such a Lord.

" I truft his faithfulnefs and power,

" To fave me in the trying hour.

"Though rocks and quicklands deep through all my

"Yet Christ shall fafely keep and guide me with his

"eye.

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" How can I fink with fuch a prop,

" That bears the world and all things up?"

At this time there were many large Spanish flukers or passage-vessels full of people crossing the channel; who feeing our condition, a number of them came along fide of us. As many hands as could be employed began to work; some at our three pumps, and the rest unloading the ship as fast as possible. There being only a fingle rock called the Porpus on which we fruck, we foon got off it, and providentially it was then high water; we therefore run the ship ashore at the nearest place to keep her from finking. After many tides, with a great deal of care and industry, we got her repaired again. When we had difpatched our business at Cadiz, we went to Gibraltar, and from thence to Malaga, a very pleafant and rich city, where there is one of the

the finest cathedrals I had ever seen. It had been above fifty years in building, as I heard, though it was not then quite finished; great part of the inside, however, was completed and highly decorated with the richest marble columns and many superb paintings; it was lighted occasionally by an amazing number of wax tapers of different sizes, some of which were as thick as a man's thigh; these, however, were only used on some of their grand sestivals.

I was very much shocked at the custom of bull-baiting, and other diversions which prevailed here on Sunday evenings, to the great scandal of Christianity and morals. I used to express my abhorrence of it to a priest whom I met with. I had frequent contests about religion with the reverend father, in which he took great pains to make a profelyte of me to his church; and I no less to convert him to mine. On these occasions I used to produce my Bible, and shew him in what points his church erred. He then faid he had been in England, and that every person there read the Bible, which was very wrong; but I answered him that Christ desired us to search the Scriptures. In his zeal for my conversion, he solicited me to go to one of the universities in Spain, and declared that I should have my education id

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education free; and told me, if I got myfelf made a priest, I might in time become even pope; and that Pope Benedict was a black man. As I was ever desirous of learning, I paused for some time upon this temptation; and thought by being crasty I might catch some with guile; but I began to think it would be only hypocrify in me to embrace his offer, as I could not in conscience conform to the opinions of his church. I was therefore enabled to regard the word of God, which says, 'Come out from amongst them,' and refused Father Vincent's offer. So we parted without conviction on either side.

Having taken at this place some sine wines, fruits, and money, we proceeded to Cadiz, where we took about two tons more of money, &c. and then sailed for England in the month of June. When we were about the north latitude 42, we had contrary wind for several days, and the ship did not make in that time above six or seven miles strait course. This made the captain exceedingly freshul and peevish: and I was very forry to hear God's most holy name often blasphemed by him. One day, as he was in that impious mood, a young gentleman on board, who was a passenger, reproached him, and said he acted wrong; for we eight to be thankful to God

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for all things, as we were not in want of any thing on board; and though the wind was contrary for us, yet it was fair for fome others, who, perhaps, stood in more need of it than we. I immediately seconded this young gentleman with some boldness, and said we had not the least cause to murmur, for that the Lord was better to us than we deserved, and that he had done all things well. I expected that the captain would be very angry with me for speaking, but he replied not a word. However, before that time on the following day, being the 21st of June, much to our great joy and afformment, we faw the providential hand of our benign Creator, whose ways with his blind creatures are past finding out. The preceding night I dreamed that I faw a boat immediately off the starboard main shrouds; and exactly at half past one o'clock, the following day at noon, while I was below, just as we dined in the cabbin, the man at the helm cried out, A boat! which brought my dream that instant into my mind: I was the first man that jumped on the deck; and looking from the throuds onward, according to my dream, I descried a little boat at some distance: but, as the waves were high, it was as much as we could do fometimes to differn her; we however stopped the ship's way,

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way, and the boat, which was extremely fmall, came alongfide with eleven miferable men, whom we took on board immediately. To all human appearance, those people must have perished in the course of one hour or less; the boat being small, it barely contained them. When we took them up they were half drowned, and had no victuals, compais, water, or any other necessary whatsoever, and had only one bit of an oar to steer with, and that right before the wind; so that they were obliged to trust entirely to the mercy of the waves. As foon as we got them all on board, they bowed themselves on their knees, and, with hands and voices lifted up to heaven, thanked God for their deliverance; and I trust that my prayers were not wanting amongst them at the fame time. This mercy of the Lord quite melted me, and I recollected his words, which I saw thus verified in the 107th Psalm, 'O 'give thanks unto the Lord, for he is 'good, for his mercy endureth for ever. 'Hungry and thirsty, their fouls fainted in them. They cried unto the Lord in their 'trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses. And he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of 'habitation. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful

works to the children of men! For he fatisfieth the longing foul, and filleth the hungry foul with goodness.

Such as fit in darkness and in the shadow of

death:

'Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he faved them out of their distresses.

They that go down to the fea in ships; that do business in great waters: these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.

Whoso is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness

of the Lord.

The poor distressed captain said, 'that the 'Lord is good; for, seeing that I am not fit to 'die, he therefore gave me a space of time to repent.' I was very glad to hear this expression, and took an opportunity when convenient of talking to him on the providence of God. They told us they were Portuguese, and were in a brig loaded with corn, which shifted that morning at five o'clock, owing to which the vessel sunk that instant with two of the crew; and how these eleven got into the boat (which was lasted to the deck) not one of them could tell. We provided them with every necessary and brought them all safe to London: and I hope the Lord gave them repentance unto eternal life.

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I was happy once more amongst my friends and brethren, till November, when my old friend, the celebrated Doctor Irving, bought a remarkable fine floop, about 150 tons. He had a mind for a new adventure in cultivating a plantation at Jamaica, and the Musquito Shore; asked me to go with him, and said that he would trust me with his estate in preference to any one. By the advice, therefore, of my friends, I accepted of the offer, knowing that the harvest was fully ripe in those parts, and hoped to be an instrument, under God, of bringing some poor sinner to my well-beloved mafter, Jesus Christ. Before I embarked, I found with the Doctor four Musquito Indians, who were chiefs in their own country, and were brought here by fome English traders for some selfish ends. One of them was the Musquito king's fon, a. youth of about eighteen years of age; and whilft he was here he was baptized by the name of George. They were going back at the government's expense; after having been in England about twelve months, during which they learned to speak pretty good English. When I came to talk to them about eight days before we failed, I was very much mortified in finding that they had not frequented any churches fince they were here,

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to be baptized, nor was any attention paid to their morals. I was very forry for this mock Christianity, and had just an opportunity to take some of them once to church before we failed. We embarked in the month of November 1775, on board of the floop Morning Star, Captain David Miller, and failed for Jamaica. In our passage, I took all the pains that I could to instruct the Indian prince in the doctrines of Christianity, of which he was entirely ignorant; and, to my great joy, he was quite attentive, and received with gladness the truths that the Lord enabled me to fet forth to him. I taught him in the compass of eleven days all the letters, and he could put even two or three of them together and spell them. I had Fox's Martyrology with cuts, and he used to be very fond of looking into it, and would alk many questions about the papal cruelties he faw depicted there, which I explained to him. I made fuch progress with this youth, especially in religion, that when I used to go to bed at different hours of the night, if he was in his bed, he would get up on purpose to go to prayer with me, without any other clothes than his thirt; and before he would eat any of his meals amongst the gentlemen in the cabbin, he would first come to me to pray, 25

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he called it. I was well pleased at this, and took great delight in him and used much supplication to God for his conversion. I was in full hope of feeing daily every appearance of that change which I could wish; not knowing the devices of fatan, who had many of his emissaries to sow his tares as fast as I sowed the good feed, and pull down as fast as I built up. Thus we went on nearly four fifths of our passage, when satan at last got the upper hand. Some of his messengers, seeing this poor heathen much advanced in piety, began to alk him whether I had converted him to Christianity, laughed and made their jest at him, for which I rebuked them as much as I could; but this treatment caused the prince to halt between two opinions. Some of the true fons of Belial, who did not believe that there was any hereafter, told him never to fear the devil, for there was none existing; and if ever he came to the prince, they defired he might be fent to them. Thus they teazed the poor innocent youth, fo that he would not learn his book any more! He would not drink nor carouse with these ungodly actors, nor would he be with me, even at prayers. This grieved me very much. I endeavoured to persuade him as well as I could, but he would not come; and entreated

him very much to tell me his reasons for acting thus. At last he asked me, 'How comes it that all the white men on board who can read and write, and observe the fun, and know all things, yet swear, lie, and get drunk, only excepting yourself?' I answered him, the reason was, that they did not fear God; and that if any one of them ched fo, they could not go to, or be happy with God. He replied, that if a certain person went to hell he would go to hell too. I was forry to hear this; and, as he fometimes had the tooth-ach, and also some other persons in the ship at the same time, I asked him if their tooth-ach made his easy: he faid, No. Then I told him if he and these people went to hell together, their pains would not make his any lighter. This answer had great weight with him: it depressed his spirits much; and he became ever after, during the passage, fond of being alone. When we were in the latitude of Martinico, and near making the land, one morning we had a brifk gale of wind, and, carrying too much fail, the mainmast went over the side. Many people were then all about the deck, and the yards, mails and rigging, came tumbling all about us, yet there was not one of us in the least hurt, although fome were within a hair's breadth of being n

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being killed: and, particularly, I saw two men who, by the providential hand of God, were most miraculously preserved from being smashed to pieces. On the fifth of January we made Antigua and Montserrat, and rap along the rest of the islands: and on the fourteenth we arrived at Jamaica. One Sunday while we were there I took the Musquito Prince George to church, where he faw the When we came out facrament administered. we faw all kinds of people, almost from the church door for the space of half a mile down to the water-fide, buying and felling all kinds of commodities; and these acts afforded me great matter of exhortation to this youth, who was much aftonished. Our vessel being ready to fail for the Musquito shore, I went with the Doctor on board a Guinea-man, to purchase some slaves to carry with us, and cultivate a plantation; and I chose them all my own countrymen. On the twelfth of February we failed from Jamaica, and on the eighteenth arrived at the Musquito shore, at a place called Dupeupy. All our Indian guests now, after I had admonished them, and a few cases of liquor given them by the Doctor, took an affectionate leave of us, and went ashore, where they were met by the Musquito king, and we never faw one of them afterwards.

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terwards. We then failed to the fouthward of the shore, to a place called Cape Gracias a Dios, where there was a large lagoon or lake, which received the emptying of two or three very fine large rivers, and abounded much in fish and land tortoise. Some of the native Indians came on board of us here; and we used them well, and told them we were come to dwell amongst them; which they seemed pleased at. So the Doctor and I, with some others, went with them ashore; and they took us to different places to view the land, in order to choose a place to make a plantation of. We fixed on a spot near a river's bank, in a rich foil; and, having got our necessaries out of the floop, we began to clear away the woods, and plant different kinds of vegetables, which had a quick growth. While we were employed in this manner, our vessel went northward to Black River to trade. While the was there, a Spanish guarda costa met with and took her. This proved very hurtful, and a great embarrasiment to us. However, we went on with the culture of the We used to make fires every night all around us, to keep off wild beafts, which, as foon as it was dark, fet up a most hideous roar-Our habitation being far up in the woods, we frequently faw different kinds of animals;

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animals; but none of them ever hurt us, except poisonous fnakes, the bite of which the Doctor used to cure by giving to the patient, as foon as possible, about half a tumbler of strong rum, with a good deal of Cayenne pepper in it. In this manner he cured two natives and one of his own flaves. The Indians were exceedingly fond of the Doctor, and they had good reason for it; for I believe they. never had fuch an useful man amongst them. They came from all quarters to our dwelling; and some woolwow or flat-headed Indians, who lived fifty or fixty miles above our river, and this fide of the fouth fea; brought us a good deal of filver in exchange for our goods. The principal articles we could get from our neighbouring Indians, were turtle oil, and shells, little silk grass, and some provisions; but they would not work at any thing for us, except fishing; and a few times they affished to cut some trees down, in order to build us houses; which they did exactly like the Africans, by the joint labour of men, women, and children. I do not recollect any of them to have had more than two wives. These always accompanied their hulbands when they came to our dwelling, and then they generally carried whatever they brought to us, and always squatted down behind their husbands.

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Whenever we gave them any thing to eat, the men and their wives eat separate. I never faw the least fign of incontinence amongst them. The women are ornamented with beads, and fond of painting themselves; the men also paint, even to excess, both their faces and shirts; their favourite colour is red, The women generally cultivate the ground, and the men are all ashermen and canoe makers. Upon the whole, I never met any nation that were so simple in their manners as these people, or had so little ornament in their houses. Neither had they, as I ever could learn, one word expressive of an oath. worst word I ever heard amongst them when they were quarrelling, was one that they had got from the English, which was, 'you rascal.' I never faw any mode of worship among them; but in this they were not worse than their European brethren or neighbours, for I am forry to fay that there was not one white person in our dwelling, nor any where else, that I saw, in different places I was at on the shore, that was better or more pious than those unenlightened Indians; but they either worked or flept on Sundays; and, to my forrow, working was too much Sunday's employment with ourselves; so much so, that in some length of time we really did not know one ıt,

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This mode of living laid day from another. the foundation of my decamping at last. The natives are well made and warlike; and they particularly boast of having never been conquered by the Spaniards. They are great drinkers of Arong liquors when they can get them. We used to distil rum from pine-apples, which were very plentiful here; and then we could not get them away from our place. Yet they seemed to be singular, in point of honesty, above any other nation I was ever amongst. The country being hot, we lived under an open shed, where we had all kinds of goods, without a door or a lock to any one atticle; yet we flept in fafety, and never loft any thing, or were diffurbed. This furprifed us a good deal; and the Doctor, myself, and others, used to say if we were to lie in that manner in Europe we should have our throats cut the first night. The indian governor goes once in a certain time all about the province or district, and has a number of men with him as attendants and affiftants. He fettles all the differences among the people, like the judge here, and is treated with very great respect. He took care to give us timely notice before he came to our habitation, by fending his stick as a token, for rum, fugar, and gunpowder, which we did not

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not refuse sending; and at the same time we made the utmost preparations to receive his honour and his train. When he came with his tribe, and all our neighbouring chieftains; we expected to find him a grave reverend judge, folid and fagacious; but, instead of that, before he and his gang came in fight; we heard them very clamorous; and they even had plundered some of our good neighbouring Indians, having intoxicated themselves with our liquor. When they arrived we did not know what to make of our new guests, and would gladly have dispensed with the honour of their company. However, having no alternative, we feathed them plentifully all the day till the evening; when the governor, getting quite drunk, grew very unruly, and fruck one of our most friendly chiefs, who was our nearest neighbour, and alfo took his gold-laced hat from him. At this a great commotion took place; and the Doctor interfered to make peace, as we could all understand one another, but to no purpose; and at last they became so outrageous that the Doctor, fearing he might get into trouble, left the house, and made the best of his way to the nearest wood, leaving me to do as well as I could among them. I was fo enraged with the Governor, that I could have wished

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wished to have seen him tied fast to a tree and flogged for his behaviour; but I had not people enough to cope with his party. I therefore thought of a stratagem to appeale the riot. Recollecting a passage I had read in the life of Columbus, when he was amongst the Indians in Mexico or Peru, where, on some occasion, he frightened them, by telling them of certain events in the heavens, I had recourse to the same expedient; and it succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. When I had formed my determination, I went in the midft of them; and taking hold of the Governor, I pointed up to the heavens. I menaced him and the rest: I told them God lived there, and that he was angry. with them, and they must not quarrel so; that they were all brothers, and if they did not leave off, and go away quietly, I would take the book (pointing to the Bible) read, and tell This operated on God to make them dead. them like magic. The clamour immediately ceased, and I gave them some rum and a few other things; after which they went away peaceably; and the governor afterwards gave our neighbour, who was called Captain Plafmyah, his hat again. When the Doctor returned, he was exceedingly glad at my fuccefs in thus getting rid of our troublesome guests. The

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The Musquito people within our vicinity, out of respect to the Doctor, myself and his people, made entertainments of the grand kind, called in their tongue tourrie or dryckbor. The English of this expression is, a feast of drinking about, of which it feems a corruption of language. The drink confisted of pine-apples roafted, and casades chewed or beaten in mortars; which, after lying some time, ferments, and becomes so firong as to intoxicate, when drank in any quantity. We had timely notice given to us of the entertainment. A white family, within five miles of us, told us how the drink was made; I and two others went before the time to the village, where the mirth was appointed to be held, and there we saw the whole art of making the drink, and also the kind of animals that were to be eaten there. I cannot say the fight of either the drink or the meat were enticing to me. They had fome thousands of pine-apples roafting, which they fqueezed, dirt and all, into a canoe they had there for the purpole. The cafade drink was in beef barrels, and other veffels, and looked exactly like hogwash. Men, women, and children, were thus employed in roafting the pine-apples, dand fqueezing them with their hands. For food they had many land torpins or tortoifes, some dried

dried turtle, and three large alligators alive, and tied fast to the trees. I asked the people what they were going to do with these alligators; and I was told they were to be eaten. I was much furprifed at this, and went home, not a little difgusted at the preparations. When the day of the feast was come, we took fome rum with us, and went to the appointed place, where we found a great affemblage of these people, who received us very kindly. The mirth had begun before we came; and they were dancing with music: and the musical instruments were nearly the same as those of any other fable people; but, as I thought, much less melodious than any other nation I ever knew. They had many curious gestures in dancing, and a variety of motions and poftures of their bodies, which to me were in no wife attracting. The males danced by themfelves, and the females also by themselves, as with us. The Doctor shewed his people the example, by immediately joining the women's party, though not by their choice, On perceiving the women difgusted, he joined the males. At night there were great illuminations, by fetting fire to many pine trees, while the dryckbot went round merrily by calabashes or gourds: but the liquor might more justly be called eating than drinking.

One Owden, the oldest father in the vicinity, was dreffed in a ftrange and terrifying form. Around his body were skins adorned with different kinds of feathers, and he had on his head a very large and high head-piece, in the form of a grenadier's cap, with prickles like a porcupine: and he made a certain noise which refembled the cry of an alligator. Our people fkipped amongst them out of complaisance, though some could not drink of their tourrie; but our rum met with customers enough, and was foon gone. The alligators were killed, and fome of them roasted. Their manner of roasting is by digging a hole in the earth, and filling it with wood, which they burn to coal, and then they lay flicks across, on which they lay the meat. I had a raw piece of the alligator in my hand: it was very rich: I thought it looked like fresh salmon, and it had a most fragrant smell, but I could not eat any of it. This merry-making at last ended without the least discord in any person in the company, although it was made up of different nations and complexions.

The rainy feason came on here about the latter end of May, which continued till August very heavily; so that the rivers were over-flowed, and our provisions then in the ground were washed away. I thought this was in

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fome measure a judgment upon us for working on Sundays, and it hurt my mind very much. I often wished to leave this place and fail for Europe; for our mode of procedure and living in this heathenish form was very irksome to me. The word of God faith, 'What does it avail 'a man if he gain the whole world and lofe ' his own foul?' This was much and heavily impressed on my mind; and though I did not know how to speak to the Doctor for my discharge, it was disagreeable for me to stay any longer. But about the middle of June I took courage enough to ask him for it. He was very unwilling at first to grant me my request; but I gave him so many reasons for it, that at last he confented to my going, and gave me the following certificate of my behaviour:

'The bearer, Gustavus Vassa, has served me several years with strict honesty, sobriety, and sidelity. I can, therefore, with justice recommend him for these qualifications; and indeed in every respect I consider him as an excellent servant. I do hereby certify that he always behaved well, and that he is perfectly trust-worthy.

'CHARLES IRVING.'

Mufquito Shore, June 15, 1776.

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'CHARLES IRVING.'

Mufquito Shore, June 15, 1776.

Though I was much attached to the Doctor, I was happy when he confented. I got every thing ready for my departure, and hired fome Indians, with a large canoe, to carry me off. All my poor countrymen, the flaves, when they heard of my leaving them, were very forry, as I had always treated them with care and affection, and did every thing I could to comfort the poor creatures, and render their condition easy. Having taken leave of my old friends and companions, on the 18th of June, accompanied by the Doctor, I left that spot of the world, and went fouthward above twenty miles along the river. There I found a floop, the captain of which told me he was going to Jamaica. Having agreed for my passage with him and one of the owners, who was also on board, named Hughes, the Doctor and I parted, not without shedding tears on both fides. The vessel then failed along the river till night, when she stopped in a lagoon within the fame river. During the night a schooner belonging to the same owners came in, and, as she was in want of hands, Hughes, the owner of the floop, asked me to go in the schooner as a failor, and faid he would give me wages. I thanked him; but I faid It wanted to go to Jamaica. He then immediately changed his tone, and fwore, and abused

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abused me very much, and asked how I came to be freed. I told him, and faid that I came into that vicinity with Dr. Irving; whom he had feen that day. This account was of no use; he still swore exceedingly at me, and curfed the mafter for a fool that fold me my freedom, and the Doctor for another in letting me go from him. Then he defired me to go in the schooner, or else I should not go out of the floop as a free man. I faid this was very hard, and begged to be put on shore again; but he fwore that I should not. I said I had been twice amongst the Turks, yet had never feen any fuch usage with them, and much less could I have expected any thing of this kind among the Christians. This incensed him exceedingly; and, with a volley of oaths and imprecations, he replied, 'Christians! damn ' you, you are one of St. Paul's men; but by ' G-, except you have St. Paul's or St. Peter's faith, and walk upon the water to the shore, ' you shall not go out of the vessel;' which I now learnt was going amongst the Spaniards towards Carthagena, where he fwore he would fell me. I fimply asked him what right he had to fell me? but, without another word, he made fome of his people tie ropes round each of my ancles, and also to each wrift, and another rope round my P 3

body, and hoisted me up without letting my feet touch or rest upon any thing. hung, without any crime committed, and without judge or jury, merely because I was a free-man, and could not by the law get any redress from a white person in those parts of the world. I was in great pain from my fituation, and cried and begged very hard for fome mercy, but all in vain. My tyrant in a rage brought a musquet out of the cabin, and loaded it before me and the crew, and fwore that he would shoot me if I cried any more. I had now no alternative; I therefore remained filent, feeing not one white man on board who faid a word in my behalf. I hung in that manner from between ten and eleven o'clock at night till about one in the morning; when, finding my cruel abuser fast afleep, I begged some of his flaves to flacken the rope that was round my body, that my feet might rest on something. This they did at the risk of being cruelly used by their master, who beat some of them severely at first for not tying me when he commanded them. Whilft I remained in this condition, till between five and fix o'clock next morning, I truft I prayed to God to forgive this blasphemer, who cared not what he did, but when he got up out of his fleep in the morning was of the very fame temper

temper and disposition as when he left me at night. When they got up the anchor, and the vessel was getting under way, I once more cried and begged to be released; and now, being fortunately in the way of their hoisting the fails, they released me. When I was let down, I spoke to one Mr. Cox, a carpenter, whom I knew on board, on the impropriety of this conduct. He also knew the doctor, and the good opinion he ever had of me. This man then went to the captain, and told him not to carry me away in that manner; that I was the doctor's steward, who regarded me very highly, and would refent this usage when he should come to know it. On which he defired a young man to put me ashore in a small canoe I brought with me. This found gladdened my heart, and I got haffily into the canoe and fet off, whilst my tyrant was down in the cabin; but he foon spied me out, when I was not above thirty or forty yards from the veffel, and running upon the deck with a loaded musket in his hand, he presented it at me, and fwore heavily and dreadfully, that he would shoot me that instant, if I did not come back on board. As I knew the wretch would have done as he faid, without befitation, I put back to the vessel again; but, as the good Lord would have it, just as I was alongside he was abusing

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abusing the captain for letting me go from the vessel; which the captain returned, and both of them foon got into a very great heat. The young man that was with me now got out of the canoe; the vessel was failing on fast with a smooth sea; and I then thought it was neck or nothing, so at that instant I set off again, for my life, in the canoe, towards the shore; and fortunately the confusion was so great amongst them on board, that I got out of the reach of the musket shot unnoticed, while the vessel sailed on with a fair wind a different way; fo that they could not overtake me without tacking: but even before that cou'd be done I should have been on shore, which I foon reached, with many thanks to God for this unexpected deliverance. I then went and told the other owner, who lived near the shore (with whom I had agreed for my passage), of the usage I had met with. He was very much aftonished, and appeared very forry for it. After treating me with kindness, he gave me some refreshment, and three heads of roasted Indian corn, for a voyage of about eighteen miles fouth, to look for another veffel. He then directed me to an Indian chief of a district, who was also the Musquito admiral, and had once been at our dwelling; after which I fet off with the canoe across a large lagoon lagoon alone (for I could not get any one to affift me), though I was much jaded, and had pains in my bowels, by means of the rope I had hung by the night before. I was therefore at different times unable to manage the canoe, for the paddling was very laborious. However, a little before dark, I got to my deftined place, where fome of the Indians knew me, and received me kindly. I asked for the admiral; and they conducted me to his dwelling. He was glad to fee me, and refreshed me with such things as the place afforded; and I had a hammock to fleep in They acted towards me more like Christians than those whites I was amongst the last night, though they had been baptifed. I told the admiral I wanted to go to the next port to get a vessel to carry me to Jamaica; and requested him to fend the canoe back which I then had, for which I was to pay him. He agreed with me, and fent five able Indians with a large canoe to carry my things to my intended place, about fifty miles; and we fet off the next morning. When we got out of the lagoon and went along shore, the sea was so high that the canoe was oftentimes very near being filled with water. We were obliged to go ashore and drag her across different necks of land; we were also two nights in the P 5 fwamps,

fwamps, which fwarmed with mulquito flies. and they proved troublesome to us. This tiresome journey of land and water ended. however, on the third day, to my great joy; and I got on board of a floop commanded by one Captain Jenning. She was then partly loaded, and he told me he was expecting daily to fail for lamaica; and having agreed with me to work my passage, I went to work accordingly. I was not many days on board before we failed; but, to my forrow and disappointment, though used to such tricks, we went to the fouthward along the Musquito shore, instead of steering for Jamaica. I was compelled to affift in cutting a great deal of mahogany wood on the shore as we coasted along it, and load the vessel with it, before she sailed. This fretted me much; but, as I did not know how to help myfelf among these deceivers, I thought patience was the only remedy I had left, and even that was forced. There was much hard work and little victuals on board, except by good luck we happened to catch turtles. On this coast there was also a particular kind of fish called manatee, which is most excellent eating, and the flesh is more like beef than fish; the scales are as large as a shilling, and the skin thicker than I ever faw that of any other fifh. Within the

the brackish waters along shore there were likewise vast numbers of alligators, which made the fish scarce. I was on board this floop fixteen days, during which, in our coafting we came to another place, where there was a fmaller floop called the Indian Queen, commanded by one John Baker. He also was an Englishman, and had been a long time along the shore trading, for turtle shells and filver, and had got a good quantity of each on board. He wanted fome hands very much; and understanding I was a free-man, and wanted to go to Jamaica, he told me it he could get one or two, that he would fail immediately for that island: he also pretended to shew me some marks of attention and respect, and promised to give me forty-five shillings sterling a month if I would go with him. I thought this much better than cutting wood for nothing. I therefore told the other captain that I wanted to go to lamaica in the other veffel; but he would not listen to me; and feeing me refolved to go in a day or two, he got the veffel under fail, intending to carry me away against my will. This treatment mortified me extremely. I immediately, according to an agreement I had made with the captain of the Indian Queen, called for her boat, which was lying near us, and it came

came along-fide; and by the means of a north-pole thipmate which I met with in the floop I was in, I got my things into the boat. and went on board of the Indian Queen, July the 10th. A few days after I was there, we got all things ready and failed: but again, to my great mortification, this veffel ftill went to the fouth, nearly as far as Carthagena, trading along the coast, instead of going to Jamaica, as the captain had promifed me: and, what was worst of all, he was a very cruel and bloody-minded man, and was a horrid blasphemer. Among others, be had a white pilot, one Stoker, whom he beat often as feverely as he did fome negroes he had on board. One night in particular, after he had beaten this man most cruelly, he put him into the boat, and made two negroes row him to a desolate key, or small island; and he loaded two piftols, and fwore bitterly that he would thoot the negroes if they brought Stoker on board again. There was not the least doubt but that he would do as he faid, and the two poor fellows were obliged to obey the cruel mandate; but when the captain was afleep, the two negroes took a blanket and carried it to the unfortunate Stoker, which I believe was the means of faving his life from the annovance of infects. A great deal of entreaty was used with the captain the next day, before he would confent to let Stoker come on board; and when the poor man was brought on board he was very ill, from his fituation during the night, and he remained fo till he was drowned a little time after. As we failed fouthward we came to many uninhabited islands, which were overgrown with fine large cocoa nut trees. As I was very much in want of provisions, I brought a boat load of the nuts on board, which lasted me and others for several weeks, and afforded us many a delicious repast in our scarcity. One day, before this, I could not help observing the providential hand of God, that ever fupplies all our wants, though in the ways and manner we know not. I had been a whole day without food, and made fignals for boats to come off, but in vain. I therefore earnestly prayed to God for relief in my need; and at the close of the evening I went off the deck. Just as I laid down I heard a noise on the deck; and, not knowing what it meant, I went directly on the deck again, when what should I fee but a fine large fish about seven or eight pounds, which had jumped aboard! I took it, and admired, with thanks, the good hand of God; and, what I confidered as not less extraordinary, the captain, who was very avaricious,

did not attempt to take it from me, there being only him and I on board; for the reft were all gone ashore trading. Sometimes the people did not come of for fome days: this used to fret the captain, and then he would vent his fury on me by beating me, or making me feel in other cruel ways. One day especially, in his wild, wicked, and mad career, after striking me several times with different things, and once across my mouth, even with a red burning flick out of the fire, he got a barrel of gunpowder on the deck, and fwore that he would blow up the veffel. I was then at my wit's end, and earnestly prayed to God to direct me. The head was out of the barrel; and the captain took a lighted flick out of the fire to blow himself and me up, because there was a vessel then in fight coming in, which he supposed was a Spaniard, and he was afraid of falling into their hands. Seeing this I got an axe, unnoticed by him, and placed myself between him and the powder, having refolved in myfelf, as foon as he attempted to put the fire in the barrel, to chop him down that instant. I was more than an hour in this fituation; during which he struck me often, still keeping the fire in his hand for this wicked purpose. I really should have thought myself justifiable in

in any other part of the world if I had killed him, and prayed to God, who gave me a mind which rested solely on himself. I prayed for refignation, that his will might be done: and the following two portions of his holy word, which occurred to my mind, buoyed up my hope, and kept me from taking the life of this wicked man. ' He hath deter-' mined the times before appointed, and fet bounds to our habitations, Acts xvii. 26. And, 'Who is there among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his fer-' vant, that walketh in darkness and hath no ! light? let him trust in the name of the Lord. and flay upon his God,' Isaiah l. 10. And thus, by the grace of God, I was enabled to do. I found him a prefent help in the time of need, and the captain's fury began to fubfide as the night approached: but I found

The next morning we discovered that the vessel which had caused such a sury in the captain was an English sloop. They soon came to an anchor where we were, and, to my no small surprise, I learned that Dr. Irving was on board of her on his way from the Musquito shore to Jamaica. I was for going immediately

[&]quot;That he who cannot flem his anger's tide "Doth a wild horse without a bridle ride."

immediately to fee this old mafter and friend. but the captain would not fuffer me to leave the vessel. I then informed the Doctor, by letter, how I was treated, and begged that he would take me out of the sloop: but he informed me that it was not in his power, as he was a paffenger himself; but he fent me fome rum and fugar for my own use. I now learned that after I had left the estate which I managed for this gentleman on the Musquito shore, during which the slaves were well fed and comfortable, a white overfeer had supplied my place: this man, through inhumanity and ill-judged avarice, beat and cut the poor flaves most unmercifully; and the confequence was, that every one got into a large Puriogua canoe, and endeavoured to escape; but, not knowing where to go, or how to manage the canoe, they were all drowned; in consequence of which the Doctor's plantation was left uncultivated, and he was now returning to Jamaica to purchase more flaves, and flock it again.

On the 14th of October, the Indian Queen arrived at Kingston in Jamaica. When we were unloaded I demanded my wages, which amounted to eight pounds five shillings sterling; but captain Baker refused to give me one farthing, although it was the hardest-

earned

earned money I ever worked for in my life. I found out Dr. Irving upon this, and acquainted him of the captain's knavery. He did all he could to help me to get my money; and we went to every magistrate in Kingston (and there were nine), but they all refused to do any thing for me, and faid my oath could not be admitted against a white man. Nor was this all; for Baker threatened that he would beat me severely if he could catch me, for attempting to demand my money; and this he would have done; but that I got, by means of Dr. Irving, under the protection of Capt. Douglas, of the Squirrel man of war. I thought this exceeding hard usage; though indeed I found it to be too much the practice there to pay free negro men for their labour in this manner.

One day I went with a free negro taylor, named Joe Diamond, to one Mr. Cochran, who was indebted to him some trisling sum; and the man, not being able to get his money, began to murmur. The other immediately took a horse-whip to pay him with it; but, by the help of a good pair of heels, the taylor got off. Such oppressions as these made me seek for a vessel to get off the island as fast as I could; and, by the mercy of God, I sound a ship in November bound for England

immediately to fee this old mafter and friend, but the captain would not fuffer me to leave the vessel. I then informed the Doctor, by letter, how I was treated, and begged that he would take me out of the floop: but he informed me that it was not in his power, as he was a passenger himself; but he sent me fome rum and fugar for my own use. I now learned that after I had left the estate which I managed for this gentleman on the Mufquito shore, during which the slaves were well fed and comfortable, a white overfeer had supplied my place: this man, through inhumanity and ill-judged avarice, beat and cut the poor flaves most unmercifully; and the confequence was, that every one got into a large Puriogua canoe, and endeavoured to escape; but, not knowing where to go, or how to manage the canoe, they were all drowned; in consequence of which the Doctor's plantation was left uncultivated, and he was now returning to Jamaica to purchase more flaves, and flock it again.

On the 14th of October, the Indian Queen arrived at Kingston in Jamaica. When we were unloaded I demanded my wages, which amounted to eight pounds five shillings sterling; but captain Baker refused to give me one farthing, although it was the hardest-

earned

earned money I ever worked for in my life. I found out Dr. Irving upon this, and acquainted him of the captain's knavery. He did all he could to help me to get my money; and we went to every magistrate in Kingston (and there were nine), but they all refused to do any thing for me, and faid my oath could not be admitted against a white man. Nor was this all; for Baker threatened that he would beat me feverely if he could catch me, for attempting to demand my money; and this he would have done; but that I got, by means of Dr. Irving, under the protection of Capt. Douglas, of the Squirrel man of war. I thought this exceeding hard usage; though indeed I found it to be too much the practice there to pay free negro men for their labour in this manner.

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land, when I embarked with a convoy, after having taken a last farewell of Doctor Irving. When I lest Jamaica he was employed in refining sugars; and some months after my arrival in England I learned, with much forrow, that this my amiable friend was dead, owing to his having eaten some poisoned fish.

We had many heavy gales of wind in our passage; in the course of which no material accident occurred, except that an American privateer, falling in with the sleet, was captured and set sire to by his Majesty's ship the

Squirrel.

On January the seventh, 1777, we arrived at Plymouth. I was happy once more to tread upon English ground; and, after passing some little time at Plymouth and Exeter, among some pious friends, whom I was happy to see, I went to London with a heart replete with thanks to God for past mercies.

CHAP. XII.

Different transactions of the author's life till the present time—His application to the late Bishop of London to be appointed a missionary to Africa—Some account of his share in the conduct of the late expedition to Sierra Leona—Petition to the Queen—Conclusion.

Such were the various scenes which I was a witness to, and the fortune I experienced until the year 1777. Since that period my life has been more uniform, and the incidents of it sewer, than in any other equal number of years preceding; I therefore hasten to the conclusion of a narrative, which I fear the reader may think already sufficiently tedious.

I had suffered so many impositions in my commercial transactions in different parts of the world, that I became heartily disgusted with the seafaring life, and was determined not to return to it, at least for some time. I therefore once more engaged in service shortly after my return, and continued for the most part in this situation until 1784.

Soon

Soon after my arrival in London, I faw a remarkable circumstance relative to African complexion, which I thought fo extraordinary that I beg leave just to mention it: A white negro woman, that I had formerly feen in London and other parts, had married a white man, by whom she had three boys, and they were every one mulattoes, and yet they had fine light hair. In 1779, I ferved Governor Macnamara, who had been a confiderable time on the coast of Africa. In the time of my fervice I used to ask frequently other fervants to join me in family prayer; but this only excited their mockery. However, the Governor, understanding that I was of a religious turn, wished to know what religion I was of; I told him I was a protestant of the church of England, agreeable to the thirtynine articles of that church; and that whomfoever I found to preach according to that doctrine, those I would hear. A few days after this, we had some more discourse on the fame subject; when he faid he would, if I chose, as he thought I might be of service in converting my countrymen to the Gospel faith, get me fent out as missionary to Africa. I at first refused going, and told him how I had been ferved on a like occasion by some white people the last voyage I went to Jamaica. Jamaica, when I attempted (if it were the will of God) to be the means of converting the Indian prince; and faid I supposed they would serve me worse than Alexander the coppersmith did St. Paul, if I should attempt to go amongst them in Africa. He told me not to sear, for he would apply to the Bishop of London to get me ordained. On these terms I consented to the Governor's proposal to go to Arica, in hope of doing good, if possible, amongst my countrymen; so, in order to have me sent out properly, we immediately wrote the following letters to the late Bishop of London:

To the Right Reverend Father in God, ROBERT, Lord Biskop of London.

The MEMORIAL of GUSTAVUS VASSA

SHEWETH,

THAT your memorialist is a native of Africa, and has a knowledge of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of that country.

That your memorialist has resided in different parts of Europe for twenty-two years last past, and embraced the Christian faith in

the year 1759.

That

That your memorialist is desirous of returning to Africa as a missionary, if encouraged by your Lordship, in hopes of being able to prevail upon his countrymen to become Christians; and your memorialist is the more induced to undertake the same, from the success that has attended the like undertakings when encouraged by the Portuguese through their different settlements on the coast of Africa, and also by the Dutch: both governments encouraged the blacks, who by their education are qualified to undertake the same, and are found more proper than European clergymen, unacquainted with the language and customs of the country.

Your memorialist's only motive for soliciting the office of a missionary is, that he may be a means, under God, of reforming his countrymen and persuading them to embrace the Christian religion. Therefore your memorialist humbly prays your Lordship's encouragement and support in the undertaking.

GUSTAVUS VASSA.

At Mr. Guthrie's, Taylor, No. 17, Hedge-lane.

My LORD,

I HAVE refided near feven years on the coast of Africa, for most part of the the time as commanding officer. From the knowledge I have of the country and its inhabitants, I am inclined to think that the within plan will be attended with great fuccess, if countenanced by your Lordship. I beg leave further to represent to your Lordship, that the like attempts, when encouraged by other governments, have met with uncommon success; and at this very time I know a very respectable character a black-priest at Cape Coast Castle. I know the within named Gustavus Vassa, and believe him a moral good man.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's humble and obedient servant,

MATT. MACNAMARA.

Grove, 11th March, 1779.

This letter was also accompanied by the following from Doctor Wallace, who had resided in Africa for many years, and whose sentiments on the subject of an African mission were the same with Governor Macnamara's.

My Lord, March 13, 1779.

I have refided near five years on Senegambia on the coast of Africa, and had

had the honour of filling very confiderable employments in that province. I do approve of the within plan, and think the undertaking very laudable and proper, and that it deferves your Lordship's protection and encouragement, in which case it must be attended with the intended success.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's
humble and obedient servant,
THOMAS WALLACE.

With these letters, I waited on the Bishop by the Governor's desire, and presented them to his Lordship. He received me with much condescension and politeness; but, from some certain scruples of delicacy, and saying the Bishops were not of opinion in sending a new missionary to Africa, he declined to ordain me.

My fole motive for thus dwelling on this transaction, or inserting these papers, is the opinion which gentlemen of sense and education, who are acquainted with Africa, entertain of the probability of converting the inhabitants of it to the faith of Jesus Christ, if the attempt were countenanced by the legislature.

Shortly after this I left the Governor, and ferved

ferved a nobleman in the Dorsetshire militia, with whom I was encamped at Coxheath for some time; but the operations there were too minute and uninteresting to make a detail of.

In the year 1783, I visited eight counties in Wales, from motives of curiosity. While I was in that part of the country I was led to go down into a coal-pit in Shropshire, but my curiosity nearly cost me my life; for while I was in the pit the coals fell in, and buried one poor man, who was not far from me: upon this I got out as fast as I could, thinking the surface of the earth the safest part of it.

In the spring of 1784 I thought of visiting old ocean again. In consequence of this I embarked as fleward on board a fine new thip called the London, commanded by Martin Hopkins, and failed for New-York. I admired this city very much; it is large and well-built, and abounds with provisions of all kinds. While we lay here a circumstance happened which I thought extremely fingular: -One day a malefactor was to be executed on a gallows; but with a condition that if any woman, having nothing on but her shift, married the man under the gallows, his life was to be faved. This extraordinary privilege was claimed; a woman prefented herfelf:

felf; and the marriage ceremony was performed.

Our ship having got laden, we returned to London in January 1785. When she was ready again for another voyage, the captain being an agreeable man, I failed with him from hence in the spring, March 1785, for Philadelphia. On the 5th of April we took our departure from the land's-end, with a pleasant gale; and about nine o'clock that night the moon shone bright, and the sea was fmooth, while our fhip was going free by the wind at the rate of about four or five miles an hour .- At this time another ship was going nearly as fast as we on the opposite point, meeting us right in the teeth, yet none on board observed either ship until we struck each other forcibly head and head, to the aftonishment and consternation of both crews. She did us much damage, but I believe we did her more; for when we passed by each other, which we did very quickly, they called to us to bring to, and hoist out our boats, but we had enough to do to mind ourselves; and in about eight minutes we faw no more of her. We refitted as well as we could the next day, and proceeded on our voyage, and in May arrived at Philadelphia.

I was very glad to fee this favourite old town once more; and my pleafure was much increased in feeing the worthy quakers freeing and easing the burthens of many of my oppressed African brethren. It rejoiced my heart when one of these friendly people took me to see a free-school they had erected for every denomination of black people, whose minds are cultivated here, and forwarded to virtue; and thus they are made useful members of the community. Does not the success of this practice say loudly to the planters, in the language of scripture—"Go ye, and do likewise!"

In October 1785, I was accompanied by fome of the Africans, and prefented this addrels of thanks to the gentlemen called Friends or Quakers, in Whitehart-Court, Lombard

Street.

GENTLEMEN,

By reading your book, entitled a Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies, concerning the Calamitous State of the enflaved Negroes, We, part of the poor, oppressed, needy, and much degraded negroes, desire to approach you, with this address of thanks, with our inmost love and warmest acknowledgment; and with the deepest sense

of your benevolence, unwearied labour, and kind interpolition, towards breaking the yoke of flavery, and to administer a little comfort and ease to thousands and tens of thousands of very grievously afflicted and too heavy

burthened negroes.

Gentlemen, could you, by perseverance, at last be enabled, under God, to lighten in any degree the heavy burthen of the afflicted, no doubt it would, in some measure, be the possible means, under God, of faving the fouls of many of the oppressors; and if so, sure we are that the God, whose eyes are ever upon all his creatures, and always rewards every true act of virtue, and regards the prayers of the oppressed, will give to you and yours those bleslings which it is not in our power to express or conceive, but which we, as a part of those captivated, oppressed, and afflicted people, most earnestly wish and pray for.

These gentlemen received us very kindly, with a promife to exert themselves on behalf of the oppressed Africans, and we parted.

While in town, I chanced once to be invited to a quaker's wedding. The simple and yet expressive mode used at their solemnizations is worthy of note. The following is the true form of it:

After

After the company have met, they have feafonable exhortations by feveral of the members; the bride and bridegroom stand up, and taking each other by the hand in a solemn manner, the man audibly declares to

this purpose:

"Friends, in the fear of the Lord, and in the presence of this assembly, whom I desire to be my winesses, I take this my friend, M. N. to be my wise; promising, through divine assistance, to be unto her a loving and faithful husband till death separate us:" and the woman makes the like declaration. Then the two first sign their names to the record, and as many more witnesses as have a mind. I had the honour to subscribe mine to a register in Whitehart-Court, Lombard-Street. My hand is ever free—if any semale Debonair wishes to obtain it, this mode I recommend.

We returned to London in August; and our ship not going immediately to sea, I shipped as a steward in an American ship called the Harmony, Captain John Willet, and lest London in March 1786, bound to Philadelphia. Eleven days after failing, we carried our foremast away. We had a nine weeks passage, which caused our trip not to succeed well, the market for our goods proving

bad; and to make it worfe, my commander began to play me the like tricks as others too often practife on free negroes in the West Indies. But, I thank God, I found many friends here, who in some measure prevented On my return to London in August, I was very agreeably furprifed to find that the benevolence of government had adopted the plan of some philanthropic individuals to fend the Africans from hence to their native quarter, and that fome veffels were then engaged to carry them to Sierra Leona; an act which redounded to the honour of all concerned in its promotion, and filled me with prayers and much rejoicing. There was then in the city a felect committee of gentlemen for the black poor, to some of whom I had the honour of being known: and as foon as they heard of my arrival, they fent for me to the committee. When I came there they informed me of the intention of government; and, as they feemed to think me qualified to superintend part of the undertaking, they asked me to go with the black poor to Africa. I pointed out to them many objections to my going; and particularly I expressed some difficulties on the account of the flave dealers, as I would certainly oppose their traffic in the human fpecies by every means in my power. However

ever these objections were over-ruled by the gentlemen of the committee, who prevailed, on me to consent to go; and recommended me to the honourable Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, as a proper person to act as commissary for government in the intended expedition; and they accordingly appointed me in November 1786, to that office, and gave me sufficient power to act for the government in the capacity of commissary, having received my warrant and the following order.

By the principal Officers and Commissioners of his.
Majesty's Navy.

WHEREAS you are directed, by our warrant of the 4th of last month, to receive into your charge from Mr. Joseph Irwin, the surplus provisions remaining of what was provided for the voyage, as well as the provisions for the support of the black poor, after the landing at Sierra Leona, with the cloathing, tools, and all other articles provided at government's expence; and as the provisions were laid in at the rate of two months for the voyage, and for four months after the landing, but the number embarked being so much less than we expected, whereby there

may be a confiderable furplus of provisions, cloathing, &c. thefe are, in addition to former orders, to direct and require you to appropriate or dispose of such surplus to the best advantage you can for the benefit of government, keeping and rendering to us a faithful account of what you do herein. And for your guidance in preventing any white perfons going, who are not intended to have the indulgence of being carried thither, we fend you herewith a lift of those recommended by the committee for the black poor, as proper persons to be permitted to embark, and acquaint you that you are not to fusfer any others to go who do not produce a certificate from the committee for the black poor, of their having their permission for it. For which this shall be your warrant. Dated at the Navy-Office, January 16, 1787.

> J. HINSLOW, GEO. MARSH, W. PALMER.

To Mr. Gustavus Vassa, Commissary of Provisions and Stores for the Black Poor going to Sierra Leona.

I proceeded immediately to the executing of my duty on board the vessels destined for the

the voyage, where I continued till the March

following.

During my continuance in the employment of government I was struck with the flagrant abutes committed by the agent, and endeavoured to remedy them, but without effect. One instance, among many which I could produce, may ferve as a specimen. Government had ordered to be provided all neceffaries (flops, as they are called, included) for 750 persons however, not being able to muster more than 426, I was ordered to fend. the fuperfluous flops, &c. to the king's flores at Portsmouth; but, when I demanded them for that purpose from the agent, it appeared they had never been bought, though paid for by government. But that was not all, government were not the only objects of peculation; these poor people suffered infinitely more; their accommodations were most wretched; many of them wanted beds, and many more cloathing and other necessaries. For the truth of this, and much more, I do not feek credit from my own affertion. I appeal to the testimony of Capt. Thompson, of the Nautilus, who convoyed us, to whom I applied in February 1787, for a remedy, when I had remonstrated to the agent in vain, and even brought him to be a witness of the injustice

injustice and oppression I complained of. I appeal also to a letter written by these wretched people, so early as the beginning of the preceding January, and published in the Morning Herald, on the sourth of that month,

figned by twenty of their chiefs.

I could not filently fuffer government to be thus cheated, and my countrymen plundered and oppressed, and even lest destitute of the necessaries for almost their existence. I therefore informed the Commissioners of the Navv of the agent's proceeding; but my difmiffion was foon after procured by means of a gentleman in the city, whom the agent, conscious of his peculation, had deceived by letters, and who, moreover, empowered the fame agent to receive on board, at the government expence, a number of persons as passengers, contrary to the orders I received. By this I fuffered a confiderable loss in my property: however, the commissioners were satisfied with my conduct, and wrote to Capt. Thompfon, expressing their approbation of it.

Thus provided, they proceeded on their voyage; and at last, worn out by treatment, perhaps not the most mild, and wasted by sickness, brought on by want of medicine, cloaths, bedding, &c. they reached Sierra Leona just at the commencement of the rains.

At that season of the year it is impossible to cultivate the lands; their provisions therefore were exhausted before they could derive any benefit from agriculture; and it is not surprising that many, especially the lascars, whose constitutions are very tender, and who had been cooped up in ships from October to June, and accommodated in the manner I have mentioned, should be so wasted by their confinement as not long to survive it.

Thus ended my part of the long-talked of expedition to Sierra Leona; an expedition which, however unfortunate in the event, was humane and politic in its defign, nor was its failure owing to government: every thing was done on their part; but there was evidently sufficient mismanagement attending the conduct and execution of it to defeat its

fuccess.

I should not have been so ample in my account of this transaction, had not the share I bore in it been made the subject of partial animadversion, and even my dismission from my employment thought worthy of being made by some a matter of public triumph*. The motives which might influence any person to descend to a petty contest with an ob-

fcure

[.] See the Public Advertifer, July 14, 1787.

feure African, and to feek gratification by his depression, perhaps it is not proper here to inquire into or relate, even if its detection were necessary to my vindication; but I thank Heaven it is not. I wish to stand by my own integrity, and not to shelter myself under the impropriety of another; and I trust the behaviour of the Commissioners of the Navy to me entitle me to make this affertion; for after I had been dismissed, March 24, I drew up a memorial thus:

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

The Memorial and Petition of Gustavus Vassa, a black Man, late Commissary to the black Poor going to Africa.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your Lordships memorialist was, by the Honourable the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, on the 4th of December last, appointed to the above employment by warrant from that board;

That he accordingly proceeded to the execution of his duty on board of the Vernon, being one of the ships appointed to proceed

to Africa with the above poor;

That

That your memorialist, to his great grief and astonishment, received a letter of difmission from the Honourable Commissioners of the Navy, by your Lordships orders;

That, conscious of having acted with the most perfect fidelity and the greatest assiduity in discharging the trust reposed in him, he is altogether at a loss to conceive the reasons of your Lordships having altered the favourable opinion you were pleafed to conceive of him, fenfible that your Lordships would not proceed to fo fevere a measure without some apparent good cause; he therefore has every reafon to believe that his conduct has been grofsly mifrepresented to your Lordships, and he is the more confirmed in his opinion, because, by opposing measures of others concerned in the same expedition, which tended to defeat your Lordships humane intentions, and to put the government to a very confiderable additional expence, he created a number of enemies, whose misrepresentations, he has too much reason to believe, laid the foundation of his dismission. Unsupported by friends, and unaided by the advantages of a liberal education, he can only hope for redrefs from the justice of his cause, in addition to the mortification of having been removed from his employment, and the advantage which he

he reasonably might have expected to have derived therefrom. He has had the misfortune to have funk a confiderable part of his little property in fitting himself out, and in other expences arising out of his fituation, an account of which he here annexes. Your memorialist will not trouble your Lordships with a vindication of any part of his conduct, because he knows not of what crime he is accused; he, however, earnestly entreats that you will be pleased to direct an enquiry into. his behaviour during the time he acted in the public fervice; and, if it be found that his dismission arose from false representations, he is confident that in your Lordships' justice he shall find redress.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that your Lordships will take his case into consideration, and that you will be pleased to order payment of the above referred to account, amounting to 32l. 4s. and also the wages intended, which is most humbly submitted.

London, May 12, 1787.

The above petition was delivered into the hands of their Lordships, who were kind enough, in the space of some few months afterwards, without hearing, to order me 50l. sterling

sterling—that is, 181. wages for the time (upwards of four months) I acted a faithful part in their service. Certainly the sum is more than a free negro would have had in the western colonies!!!

From that period to the present time my life has passed in an even tenor, and great part of my study and attention has been to assist in the cause of my much injured coun-

trymen.

March the 21st, 1788, I had the honour of presenting the Queen with a petition on behalf of my African brethren, which was received most graciously by Her Majesty*:

To the QUEEN's most Excellent Majesty.

MADAM,

Your Majesty's well known benevolence and humanity embolden me to approach your royal presence, trusting that the obscurity of my situation will not prevent your Majesty from attending to the sufferings for which I plead.

Yet I do not folicit your Royal pity for my own distress; my sufferings, although numerous, are in a measure forgotten. I supplicate

your

^{*} At the request of some of my most particular friends I take the liberty of inserting it here.

your Majesty's compassion for millions of my African countrymen, who groan under the

lash of tyranny in the West Indies.

The oppression and cruelty exercised to the unhappy negroes there, have at length reached the British legislature, and they are now deliberating on its redress; even several persons of property in slaves in the West Indies, have petitioned parliament against its continuance, sensible that it is as impolitic as it is unjust—and what is inhuman must ever be unwise.

Your Majesty's reign has been hitherto distinguished by private acts of benevolence and bounty; surely the more extended the misery is, the greater claim it has to your Majesty's compassion, and the greater must be your Majesty's pleasure in administering to its relief.

I presume, therefore, gracious Queen, to implore your interposition with your royal consort, in favour of the wretched Africans; that, by your Majesty's benevolent instuence, a period may now be put to their misery; and that they may be raised from the condition of brutes, to which they are at present degraded, to the rights and situation of freemen, and admitted to partake of the blessings of your Majesty's happy government;

fo shall your Majesty enjoy the heart-felt pleasure of procuring happiness to millions, and be rewarded in the grateful prayers of

themselves, and of their posterity.

And may the all-bountiful Creator shower on your Majesty, and the Royal Family, every blessing that this world can afford, and every fulness of joy which divine revelation has promised us in the next.

I am your Majesty's most dutiful and devoted servant to command,

GUSTAVUS VASSA, The Oppressed Ethiopian,

No. 53, Baldwin's Gurdens.

The negro consolidated act, made by the assembly of Jamaica last year, and the new act of amendment now in agitation there, contain a proof of the existence of those charges that have been made against the planters relative to the treatment of their slaves.

I hope to have the fatisfaction of feeing the renovation of liberty and justice, resting on the British government, to vindicate the honour of our common nature. These are concerns which do not perhaps belong to any particular office: but, to speak more seriously, to every man of sentiment, actions like these these are the just and sure foundation of future fame; a reversion, though remote, is coveted by fome noble minds as a substantial good. It is upon these grounds that I hope and expect the attention of gentlemen in power. These are defigns consonant to the elevation of their rank, and the dignity of their stations: they are ends suitable to the nature of a free and generous government; and, connected with views of empire and dominion, fuited to the benevolence and folid merit of the legislature. It is a pursuit of subflantial greatness. May the time come—at least the speculation to me is pleasing-when the fable people shall gratefully commemorate the auspicious æra of extensive freedom, Then shall those persons * particularly be named with praise and honour, who generoully proposed and stood forth in the cause of humanity, liberty, and good policy; and brought to the ear of the legislature defigns worthy of royal patronage and adoption. May Heaven make the British senators the dispersers of light, liberty, and science, to

[•] Granville Sharp, Esq. the Rev. Thomas Clarkson; the Rev. James Ramsay; our approved friends, men of virtue, are an honour to their country, ornamental to human nature, happy in themselves, and benefactors to mankind!

the uttermost parts of the earth: then will be glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good-will to men :- Glory, honour, peace, &c. to every foul of man that worketh good; to the Britons first (because to them the Gos. pel is preached) and also to the nations. Those that honour their Maker have mercy on the poor.' 'It is righteousness exalteth ' a nation, but fin is a reproach to any peobe; destruction shall be to the workers of ' iniquity, and the wicked shall fall by their ' own wickedness.' May the bleffings of the Lord be upon the heads of all those who commiserated the cases of the oppressed negroes, and the fear of God prolong their days; and may their expectations be filled with gladness! 'The liberal devise liberal things, and by ' liberal things shall stand,' Isaiah xxxii. 8. They can say with pious Job, 'Did not I weep for him that was in trouble? was not my foul grieved for the poor?' Job xxx. 25.

As the inhuman traffic of flavery is to be

As the inhuman traffic of flavery is to be taken into the confideration of the British legislature, I doubt not, if a system of commerce was established in Africa, the demand for manufactures will most rapidly augment, as the native inhabitants will insensibly adopt the British fashions, manners, customs, &c.

In proportion to the civilization, fo will be the

confumption of British manufactures.

The wear and tear of a continent, nearly twice as large as Europe, and rich in vegetable and mineral productions, is much easier conceived than calculated.

A case in point.—It cost the Aborigines of Britain little or nothing in cloathing, &c. The difference between their foresathers and the present generation, in point of consumption, is literally infinite. The supposition is most obvious. It will be equally immense in Assica—The same cause, viz. civilization, will ever have the same effect.

It is trading upon fafe grounds. A commercial intercourse with Africa opens an inexhaustible source of wealth to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, and to all

which the flave trade is an objection.

If I am not misinformed, the manufacturing interest is equal, if not superior, to the landed interests, as to the value, for reasons which will soon appear. The abolition of slavery, so diabolical, will give a most rapid extension of manufactures, which is totally and diametrically opposite to what some interested people affert.

The manufactures of this country must and will,

will, in the nature and reason of things, have a full and conflant employ by fupplying the African markets.

Population, the bowels and furface of Africa, abound in valuable and ufeful returns; the hidden treasures of centuries will be brought to light and into circulation. Industry, enterprize, and mining, will have their full fcope, proportionably as they civilize. In a word, it lays open an endless field of commerce to the British manufactures and merchant adventurer. The manufacturing interest and the general interests are fynonimous. The abolition of flavery would be in reality an

universal good.

Tortures, murder, and every other imaginable barbarity and iniquity, are practifed upon the poor flaves with impunity. I hope the flave trade will be abolished. I pray it may be an event at hand. The great body of manufacturers, uniting in the cause, will confiderably facilitate and expedite it; and as I have already flated, it is most substantially their interest and advantage, and as such the nation's at large, (except those persons concerned in the manufacturing neck-yokes, collars, chains, hand-cuffs, leg-bolts, drags, thumb-screws, iron muzzles, and coffins; cats, fcourges, and other instruments of torture used

in the flave trade.) In a fhort time one fentiment alone will prevail, from motives of interest as well as justice and humanity. Europe contains one hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants. Query—How many millions doth Africa contain? Supposing the Africans, collectively and individually, to expend 51. a head in raiment and furniture yearly when civilized, &c. an immensity beyond the reach

of imagination!

This I conceive to be a theory founded upon facts, and therefore an infallible one. If the blacks were permitted to remain in their own country, they would double themselves every fifteen years. In proportion to such increase will be the demand for manufactures. Cotton and indigo grow spontaneously in most parts of Africa; a consideration this of no small consequence to the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. It opens a most immense, glorious, and happy prospect—the clothing, &c. of a continent ten thousand miles in circumference, and immensely rich in productions of every denomination in return for manufactures.

I have only therefore to request the reader's indulgence, and conclude. I am far from the vanity of thinking there is any merit in this narrative: I hope censure will be suspended,

when

when it is confidered that it was written by one who was as unwilling as unable to adorn the plainness of truth by the colouring of imagi-My life and fortune have been extremely chequered, and my adventures various. Even those I have related are considerably abridged. If any incident in this little work should appear uninteresting and trisling to most readers, I can only fay, as my excuse for mentioning it, that almost every event of my life made an impression on my mind, and influenced my conduct. I early accustomed myself to look at the hand of God in the minutest occurrence, and to learn from it a leffon of morality and religion; and in this light every circumstance I have related was to me of importance. After all, what makes any event important, unless by its observation we become better and wifer, and learn 'to do ' justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God?' To those who are possessed of this spirit, there is scarcely any book or incident fo trifling that does not afford fome profit, while to others the experience of ages feems of no use; and even to pour out to them the treasures of wisdom is throwing the jewels of instruction away.

